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SEVEN DAYS' BOOK.

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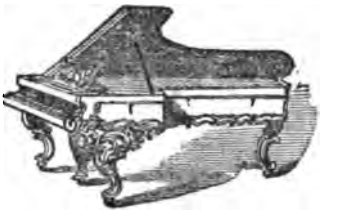

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3. *Æschylus Ex Novissima Recensione* FREDERICI A. PALEY. *Accessit Verborum quæ Præcipue Notanda sunt et Nominum Index.** London. 1861.

TRAGEDY originally corresponded, in no degree, to the modern idea of the term; for, as it originally stood, we may say there was nothing included in tragedy which could be designated as truly dramatic. As first celebrated, in its earliest form, its object was simply the singing of choral odes on festive occasions, and the songs were accompanied by music and dancing. The festivals on which it was given were in honor of Bacchus, and occurred at the gathering in, or rather the conclusion, of the vintage. We do not mean to say, however, that the custom in question was confined to the rites of Bacchus; for it was not: it was rather an expression of festal gladness attendant upon many of the ceremonies of the Greeks which were of a religious character. Contests in which the poets appeared were by no means unusual. It is probable that they might frequently occur, if not periodically, at a festival called Dionysian.

Thus the custom of competing for a prize, including in itself

* For the benefit of students of the Classics, we give not only titles in the original, but also a few of such original passages as are at once the most remarkable for their wonderful vigor and force, and the most difficult to be translated. The latter are put in the form of foot-notes, so as not to interfere with the text of one of our ablest and most esteemed contributors.—ED.

the chorus, may have engrafted itself on tragedy. Indeed, we have reason to believe that at these festivals recitations of odes took place, which were very different in their character: the one kind, grave and stately, with imperial mien and tread, whence tragedy originated; the other, of a licentious nature, intended for buffoonery, which doubtless formed the germ of comedy. In fact, in all countries where Bacchus was worshipped, the rites in his honor were strongly tinctured by the same spirit of licentiousness and of sensuality which more or less disgraced them and all pagan rites. And here the Greeks, refined as they were, differed but little from their neighbors, the less polished nations around them.

The sacrifice of a goat to Bacchus—a part of the ceremonial—must have given birth to the term tragedy, which signifies the "goat song." Thespis, who flourished in the age of Solon, made the choral songs and dances still more interesting, by adding a new feature. This he did by introducing an actor, whose business it was to recite during the intervals of the choruses verses honoring some favorite hero, or celebrating some popular or ludicrous incident. The actor bedaubed his face with wine-lees, and carried about with him wherever he went the simple accessories necessary to the exhibition of his performances. He acted pretty much, in this regard, like any vagrant showman who presents himself and his wares at our public fairs.

Two authors of antiquity, Clemens Alexandrinus and Plutarch, have introduced quotations in their works from tragedies ascribed to Thespis; but Bentley, one of the most learned as well as acute of modern critics, has demonstrated that such were forgeries by Heraclides. He has thus shown that no written drama from Thespis has ever existed. Phrynichus is mentioned as a scholar and successor to Thespis. It would seem, indeed, that he was a poet of more than ordinary powers. Herodotus ascribes effects to one of his tragedies—the Capture of Miletus by the Persians—which would appear to prove the truth of the great historian's assertion. The auditory is described as so deeply affected by the representation, that they can no longer control their emotions; they burst into tears; and in consequence, the poet, who should have been applauded and crowned, was fined a thousand drachmæ for thus bringing to mind a domestic calamity; and, more than all, the piece was forbidden a repetition. Phrynichus doubtless materially advanced the art of tragedy beyond what had been achieved for it by Thespis.*

* Bayle has some judicious and excellent remarks on the relative claims of Thespis and Æschylus. "Il n'est pas si aise d'inventer," he says, "que d'ajoûter aux

Now on this simple basis, and with such slender materials, Æschylus conceived and framed what is termed the regular drama. Justly, therefore, have succeeding ages hailed him as the father of tragic song. Æschylus stands, therefore, in tragic art by the side of Homer, his great compeer in epic art. Time is scanty of particulars of this great man's life; yet the record of such fragments as we possess alone can give us an idea of the nature of the improvements he introduced, as well as of his own genius.

He was born in Eleusis, in Attica, about 525 years B. C. He was of a noble family; a family highly distinguished by the splendor of superior talents, as well as by eminent services rendered to the State. It is said that, when a boy, he dreamt that Bacchus appeared to him while he kept guard in a vineyard, and exhorted him to devote his talents to tragic composition. Such is a traditionary tale, recorded by Pausanias. The next we hear of the poet, he is in the career of arms. We are told that he fought at Marathon, under Miltiades. He was then but thirty-five years of age, and yet so highly did he distinguish himself, that the prize of peculiar valor was assigned to him, among others, when that conflict, glorious alike to freedom and to Athens, terminated. In the same fight, his brothers, Cynegirus and Ameinias, received a like honorable distinction. Their bravery had equalled his own. He again made himself famous in the great naval action of Salamis, and also in the decisive battle of Platæa. In the conflict of Salamis, his brother Ameinias signally distinguished himself; acquired peculiar glory, indeed, by causing the vessel of the Persian admiral to founder. It was by his means that she sank in the sea. Xerxes had been defeated; and the era which followed that defeat has been called the brightest in the annals of Greece. Athens then arose to be the head of the Grecian confederacy of states. Her valor and her policy

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inventions des autres. Les changemens que Thespis avoit déja faits à la Tragedie, donnerent lieu à Eschyle d'en faire de nouveaux, et de plus considerables. Il donna un masque a ses Acteurs: car persona est ici un masque, et non pas un personnage; les habilla de robes traînantes, leur chaussa le brodequin; au lieu de charrette, fit bâtir un théatre mediocrement echaussé, et changea entierement le stile qui devint grave et serieux, au lieu qu'il étoit auparavant fort burlesque, *λέξις γελοια;* mais je m'étonne qu'Horace ne dise rien des changemens plus importans qu'Aristot attribue à Eschyle: car il dit dans sa Poëtique, qu'il ajoûta un Acteur à celui de Thespis, qu'il diminua les chants du Chœur, et qu'il inventa un premier rôlle, *ωρωταγωνιστην λόγον.*"—(*Bayle's Dictionary, Art.* "*Æschylus.*") The lines of Horace alluded to above by Bayle are the following:

"Ignotum tragicæ genus invenisse Camenæ
Dicitur et plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis,
Suæ canerent agerentque peruncti fæcibus ora
Post hunc personæ pallæque repertor honestæ
Æschylus, et modicis instravit pulpita tignis
Et docuit magnumque loqui nitique cothurno."
De Arte Poet., 276–280.

secured for her that enviable position. The neighboring states acknowledged her sway; becoming, as they did, either her dependents or tributaries. As a result, commerce became enlarged and extended; wealth and leisure naturally succeeded; then came the useful and elegant arts; followed by the severer and no less useful sciences. Thus Athens came forth like the fabled bird from her ashes; as one writer says, "alike the eye and ornament of Greece."

It was under such auspices that Æschylus arose to the summit of the poetic art; whilst beneath his benignant and majestic sway the tragic contest became the popular and favorite amusement of the Athenians. He invented all those prominent attributes of the structure, spirit, tone, and accompaniments of the tragic art, which have raised tragedy, by the verdict of the greatest critics, to a rank among the various productions of poetry. He represented the very objects he described; and this was more than succeeding, as he did, in acting on the feelings, and in touching the passions of the auditory. He gave to his ideas suitable forms; he so placed them before the spectators, that they realized to their imaginations the images of tradition. All this did the genius of Æschylus achieve. He is the author of seventy tragedies; but only seven have come down to us. These alone have escaped the ravages of time. Thus limited are our means of judgment respecting the father of the tragic muse. Among those that have survived, however, are the Seven Chiefs, the Agamemnon, and the Prometheus. These, as we find them, rank among the noblest specimens and finest productions of man's genius. The Hector, Ajax, and Achilles of Homer are not more intensely individualized than the Agamemnon, Clytemnestra, and Prometheus of Æschylus. The poet's subjects were distinguished by a conception of strength and fancy which is apparent to all. Even Pindar himself is hardly more sublime in the lyrical inspiration of his choruses. And a language as nervous, subtle, and comprehensive as the Greek, can scarcely embody and manifest the entire compass and power of his thoughts and his images. The poet makes almost everything he touches picturesque. Whatever may be the particular style of his composition, whether he recites or narrates, he boldly delineates or personifies—Shakespeare and Milton alone excepted, no poet ancient or modern, whose compositions contain more striking instances of what Horace describes as shreds of sentences which, because of their expression, themselves become poetry. The testimony of the ancients respecting his merits is universally the same. That of Dionysius Halicarnasseus is as follows: "Æschylus peculiarly excelled in loftiness of thought, and in

a just conception of what constitutes dignity in the delineation of the passions and manners. His style is wonderfully adorned by figurative and impressive language, and he is very skilful in the invention of words and circumstances adapted to his particular purposes." Longinus also praises him in the strongest terms, quoting the scene of sacrifice in the Seven Chiefs.*

But the ancients are not alone in thinking so highly of the merits of Æschylus; for the judgment of the moderns is much the same. A great poet and an able critic† says: "At his summons, the mysterious and tremendous volume of destiny, in which are inscribed the doom of gods and men, seemed to display its leaves of iron before the appalled spectators; the more than mortal voices of deities, Titans, and departed heroes, were heard in awful conference; Olympus bowed, and its deities descended; earth yawned, and gave up the pale spectres of the dead, and the yet more undefined and grisly forms of those infernal deities who struck horror into the gods themselves. All this could only be dared and done by a poet of the highest order; confident, during that early age of enthusiasm, that he addressed an audience prompt to kindle at the heroic scene which he placed before them. It followed almost naturally from his character, that the dramas of Æschylus, though full of terrible interest, should be deficient in grace and softness; that his sublime conciseness should deviate sometimes into harshness and obscurity; and that his plots should appear rude and inartificial, compared with those of his successors in the dramatic art. Still, however, Æschylus not only led the way in the noble career of the Grecian drama, but outstripped, in point of sublimity at least, those by whom he was followed."

We have already spoken of Thespis in connection with the tragic art. His construction was exceedingly simple in its details; entirely unlike what tragedy afterwards became. It was little more than a recitation, a single actor taking the part of the adventures or exploits of some hero, real or fancied. This recitation had the effect to relieve the monotony of the chorus. Æschylus, however, improved upon Thespis, introducing two, and sometimes more persons, into his dramas.‡

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* See *Περὶ ὕψους*, sec. xv., v. 45.

† Sir Walter Scott; see his Essay on the Drama.

‡ It has been a favorite hypothesis with writers on the ancient drama that Sophocles was the first person who introduced a third actor. But a little reflection on the incidents of the Agamemnon renders it next to certain that three, at least, were occasionally resorted to by Æschylus. How could it be otherwise, for instance, where Agamemnon presents Cassandra to Clytemnestra, and commends her for her kindness? On this point the authority of Bentley may be regarded as con-

Each of these actors had a special task assigned to him; his was a distinct office; and thus the father of the tragic art gave to his compositions variety and animation. The semblance of reality, too, was thus produced upon the imagination.

The tragedies of the ancients were not generally characterized by the marvellous; the scenery, therefore, was by no means elaborate, but very simple. The idea conveyed to the mind of a modern by the term "theatre," was quite unlike anything among the ancients. Our theatrical performances take place in buildings, in sealed houses, if we may so speak; and the amusements and entertainments furnished occur in the night. All the splendors of illumination are added to charm the spectators; whilst objects of the most exciting nature are produced and exhibited. Nothing of the kind characterized the places devoted to the drama and to tragedy in those times of which we discourse. The theatres of the Greeks were not ceiled houses, but were open to the skies; and, instead of their performances occurring at night, the representations were given in the broad glare of day. No female performers were allowed; everything was done by the opposite sex. There were advantages as well as disadvantages attending this mode of theatricals and style of building. As the Greeks sat within their temples dedicated to the muses, and beheld and applauded their plays, theirs was the gratification and delight of inhaling the pure air, while their brows were fanned by the soft breezes of their delicious and salubrious clime. True, sudden changes of weather may, at times, have disturbed them; but these were but slight and momentary annoyances, easily guarded against by some slight contrivance. In another important respect, too, tragic representation among the Greeks differed from ours. What should we think of commencing our theatricals with a religious ceremonial? Yet the Greeks did this: their deities were first remembered; and the smoke of sacrifice ascended from their altars. How different and unlike the modern from the ancient theatre! With ourselves, theatrical representations present only a scene of pleasure. We go not to be instructed, but simply to be entertained and amused.

The ancients, we see, were more religious than the moderns. At first the scenery was not movable; appropriate scenery, however, was added, which greatly contributed to the illusion of the piece. Aristotle tells us that Sophocles improved much upon the inventions of his predecessor; and yet some at least

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clusive. "Æschylus," he says, "is generally reported as the inventor of the second actor; and yet several believe that afterwards he invented, too, the third actor; for in the making of seventy-five tragedies he had time enough to improve further on his first model."—*Bentley's Phalaris*, p. 240.

of the scenes in the dramas of Æschylus must have required machinery, demanding much ingenuity and invention. Take the Prometheus as an example. In order to its representation not only mechanical, but pictorial skill was demanded; and this must have called forth great exertion—certainly considerable of that ingenuity which is a concomitant of genius. Consider the scenery required—a savage and rocky eminence lifted upon the bosom of the trackless deep. Here the giant rebel is seen chained—a chorus of sea-nymphs who visit and condole with him. They come as if wafted in a winged chariot. And now appears Old Oceanus, following. He makes his *entrée* on what seems a flying steed. Such are the chief particulars of the tragedy, confirmed as well as inferred. The first building at Athens dedicated to the drama was extremely rude in its form, and was constructed of wood. It was destroyed by fire. The succeeding building is supposed to have been erected under the auspices of Æschylus, and therefore was doubtless adapted to the improvements he had introduced. Still other changes awaited it. It was either rebuilt or enlarged by Pericles. Portions of it are still discoverable at Athens, and bear the appellation of the theatre of Bacchus. In it the finest compositions also of Sophocles and Euripides were represented.

Scenic representations were not the only things for which the ancient theatres were employed. Contests in music, and in still other departments of ingenuity and skill, also took place within them. Frequently they witnessed the convocation of assemblies for political purposes. At Athens the people came together in the Pryx, a place of great antiquity and of much interest, because of its associations with the noblest passages of Athenian history. In the age of Philip and Alexander, the custom had become frequent at Athens of honoring with a crown of gold any citizen who had rendered signal services to his country. The rivals for the golden crown, Demosthenes and Æschines, stood forth on one such great occasion and contended. Æschylus, like his great modern rival, the illustrious Shakespeare, was not only an author, but also an actor. We are told that he often appeared and took parts in his own dramas. He must have been an actor, too, of no inconsiderable merit; for he is referred to as animating the performers by his example as well as instructions. Under Thespis and those who immediately succeeded him, but little if any relation appears to have existed between the subjects of the chorus and that of the accompanying monologues. The latter had been brought forward merely as episodes between the pauses of the chorus. This has now entirely changed. The dialogue now made up the main body of the piece, the chorus becoming no more than episodical.

The choral songs were introduced, forming an impressive commentary upon the incidents of the play. These stood forth and gave utterance to the moral or the religious sentiments, or to the patriotic emotions which the scene, whilst transpiring, ought to excite in the spectators. Of modern orchestral effects the ancients appeared to have known nothing; and yet it would seem that their loss in this respect could not have been great; for the tones of the human voice, with some simple accompaniment, can move the passions and touch the feelings, as no mere combinations of orchestral sounds can. Music and dancing occupied important positions in the ancient Greek drama. As for the style of the dances, this was grave or otherwise, and corresponded to the nature and character of the poetry. Great proficiency was attained in the terpsichorian art. An author is quoted who states that Telestes, a performer in the "Seven Chiefs of Thebes," was so accomplished in the art in question, that the course of the action of the play was perfectly manifested by his movements. The moral character of tragedy admitted of no indelicate movements or gestures, which were expressly denounced by Aristotle. Few and simple, indeed, were the musical instruments employed. The music was not intended to drown the voices of the singers. The flute, the pipe, the lyre, these were almost altogether used to aid the performers. In martial choruses, however, the trumpet was sometimes introduced. Such, at least, is the probability of the case. With the ancients, the object sought most of all was distinct articulation; for this was required by the incidents of the piece; and that was to be explained and thus understood. In speaking of music as forming an important, nay, essential part in the Grecian drama, we desire to note the fact, that the ancients gave their early attention to that branch of accomplishments. They were adepts in vocal and in musical science. Theirs was a high degree of natural taste; added to this, was their wonderful proficiency in musical science, and the favorable influence of their climate. These things were calculated to give to the human voice, among them, a compass, flexibility, and sweetness of tone unknown in less polished countries. An Athenian's education was incomplete, nay, was not finished, till the culture of musical science, the study of dialectics, and the exercises of the palæstra had found it and given to it richness, breadth and depth. Philosophy, too, and philosophical speculation, were considered as parts of the educational system. A taste for these was introduced by Anaxagoras. Pericles, the renowned warrior, statesman and orator, became his pupil; and here, it is said, he acquired that dignified and polished rhetorical style which made him famous.

The greatest Grecian philosophers tell us that music was made a part of moral discipline; that, in some manner, it became subservient to good morals. However this may be, it is certain that some of the most distinguished of their philosophers became proficients in musical science; gave their time and attention to it, and also inculcated it upon their disciples. Pythagoras was one of these; the "divine" Plato was another. The last goes so far as to ascribe a great deal of the degeneracy of his countrymen to their growing want of reverence, and to their abandonment of the simple and grave character of the ancient music. Instead of the grave and lofty style to which they had been accustomed, and which, in the more flourishing period of their country's history, they had supported and sustained, a style both effeminate and sensual was patronized and approved. Music universally prevailed, and was cultivated in all the principal schools of philosophy. The *chorus* in Grecian tragedy appears to have occupied the first and most prominent place. The dialogue of course had its position, and excited a deep interest in the minds of the auditors; yet the chorus reigned supreme over dialogue. "Its lyrical inspiration, the rhythm of the verse, its thrilling appeals to their patriotic or religious feelings, the mystic solemnity of its dances, and its musical attractions, styled by Aristotle the principal embellishment of tragedy, sufficiently account for this preference. To native Greeks, enthusiastically alive to these various attractions, and intimately acquainted with the traditions and customs whence originated numberless allusions unintelligible to the acutest modern scholars, the time occupied by the chorus was a sort of continued enchantment. To the modern student, indeed, who is embarrassed by its difficulties of construction and the obscurity of its illusions, who surveys it stripped of its appropriate embellishments, and who can at best but imperfectly appreciate the grace and harmony, the swell and pomp of its high-sounding lays, it is apt to appear a tedious suspension in the development of the plot—an unnatural separation between kindred portions of the dialogue. . . . . But to do real justice to the chorus, the critic must forget himself and the modern world, and realize as nearly as possible the feelings, the prejudices, and the tastes of an ancient Greek. He must reflect on the variety and the perfection of its various embellishments. . . . . What poetry to English ears can sound more musically harmonious, for instance, than the choral parts of Milton's Comus? Were the English to become a dead language, and a foreign student to occupy himself with those compositions after a lapse of many centuries of ignorance and barbarism had clouded over the meaning of

their local or learned allusions, and, by introducing a false pronunciation, had broken the spell of their harmony, or dissolved the charm of their 'linked sweetness long drawn out,' what a different judgment would he probably pass on them from that which a correct knowledge of all these particulars now produces!"

Occasionally the persons composing the choral band descended from the heights of empyrean poetry, and took part in the dialogue itself, by means of their χορυφαῖος, (coryphæus,) or leader. He spoke, according to circumstances, either as a single person or for the whole band, or aided the progress of the action by brief explanations, or uttered expressions of pity for suffering virtue, or in condemnation of crime or impurity. At such times the choral band advanced to the front of the orchestra, so as to be brought within the sphere of the action. The style of speaking and sentiment to which the chorus is confined when thus passing the limits of its more official functions, proves that the expedient of the coryphæus was resorted to only when circumstances called for remarks or explanations which could not properly proceed from the persons of the drama. Nothing, in fact, can be more tame or puerile than the style of speaking to which he is restricted. Father Brumoy, in allusion to it, calls him, with laughable quaintness, *l'honnête homme de la pièce*. We quote what Sir Walter Scott says, in his Essay on the Drama, upon this point. He has given a very humorous description of the matter, as follows: "When a deed of violence was to be acted, the helpless chorus, instead of interfering to prevent the atrocity to which the perpetrator had made them privy, could only, by the rules of the theatre, exhaust their sorrow and surprise in dithyrambics." This was well ridiculed by Bentley, in his farce called the "Wishes," in one part of which strange performance he introduced a chorus after the manner of the ancient Greeks, who are informed, by one of the *dramatis personæ*, that a madman with a fire-brand has just entered the vaults beneath the place they occupy, and which contains a magazine of gunpowder. The chorus, instead of stirring from the dangerous vicinity, immediately commence a long complaint of the hardship of their fate, exclaiming pathetically, "Oh! unhappy madman—or, rather, unhappy we, the victims of this madman's fury—or thrice, thrice unhappy the friends of the madman, who did not secure him and restrain him from the perpetration of such deeds of phrensy—or three and four times hapless the keeper of the magazine, who forgot the keys in the door!"

An examination of the choruses of Æschylus shows that his aim was noble and lofty; that he sought to inculcate moral

views and principles; also that, according to the light he enjoyed, his piety was earnest and sincere. He is distinguished by reverence for the gods;* he respected the sanctity of an oath; he guarded, both by precept and example, the conjugal tie; he inculcated, by his writings, inflexible justice; taught moderation in prosperity; patience in suffering; devoted love to our country, and a generous hospitality. Such were the views and principles of this illustrious poet; and we need hardly add that their proclamation to his countrymen brought him their unbounded esteem, and secured their applause. Nothing is found in his writings of a licentious or impure character. His morality is not doubtful, like that of Euripides.† In his choral strains is the recognition of the power of conscience; its awful sanctions; here are the resistless strivings of the soul, the restless stirrings of the immortal within us; here, too, is a clear perception of the marked distinction between virtue on the one hand and vice on the other. The tragic contests principally took place at the festival given in honor of Bacchus. This festival occurred during the months of March and April. Athens was then full of strangers; its streets and squares crowded with the populace. All these had been drawn thither, most anxious to be present at and to view these "dramatic Olympia." Deputies also appeared from all her dependencies, who had come to pay their annual tribute into her treasury.

When a triology, which consisted of three tragedies, was acted, the contest extended through several days. So, at least, we judge from the extent of the performance. A fourth piece was sometimes added to the three tragedies. This last was of a satirical character. The prize was not awarded to the vic-

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* In every one of his tragedies we have evidence of his respect for religion and his regard for justice. As an instance, we may quote the following lines from the chorus of the "Eumenides," subjoining a translation:

εἰς τὸ παν δὲ σοι λεγω,
βωμον αἰδεσθαι Δικας
μηδὴ νιν
κερδος ἰδον ἀθεῳ ποδι λαξ
ατισῃς·
ποινα γαρ ἑπεσται·
κυριον μενει τελος.

"But chiefly I tell thee, reverence the altar of justice, nor, when gain tempts thee, venture to kick it with godless foot; for punishment hangs over sin; the appointed end remains."—Ed.

† There is a great difference between the two poets in this respect; at the same time it is but fair to add that Euripides yields to none in sentiments of sublime piety; as for example in the last lines of his *Phœnissæ:*

Ἀλλα γαρ τι ταυτα θρηνω και ματην ὀδυρομαι;
Τας γαρ ἐκ ΘΕΩΝ ἀναγκας ϑνητον ὀντα δει φερειν.

—the substance of which is, that the Divine decrees are unalterable, and that we ought to submit to them with cheerful resignation.—Ed.

tor by the multitude assembled. A select number of judges took charge of the award; but not till they were solemnly sworn, binding themselves by an oath that they would be strictly impartial. The victor was crowned, however, in the presence of the entire assembly. All the spectators beheld him, and he was hailed by their plaudits. The real prize was glory; its visible fruit, however, was a wreath of ivy. This, to those that beheld it, suggested and indicated his triumph. The Greek victor was covetous only of praise. Glory was his mistress, and she had no more faithful and obsequious servant than himself. We have said that the name of the victor was proclaimed; but this was not all, for the next in merit were also noticed in the same manner. The prize of the victorious chorus was a tripod. This was generally dedicated by the chorus-master, in some particular street or quarter near to the theatre. These tripods were held in great honor. Some were erected upon temples dedicated to Bacchus; others were placed upon columns and rocks near the same place of dramatic representation. But we return to the poet. The latter period of Æschylus' life did not correspond to the former in prosperity. His crown of rejoicing and of joy was worn with the greatest satisfaction and delight in the days of his youth and manhood. He became an exile from Athens. Disappointments had doubtless soured his lofty spirit; his ambition had been clipped of its heaven-soaring wings; he had to meet and satisfy the caprice of an Athenian mob, proverbial in this respect for its restless longing for change. Like many another distinguished writer and illustrious spirit before him, his name and fame were the occasion of envy, and were not sufficient to keep for him the place in popular regard which his youthful and manly successes and triumphs had achieved. Even in the city of his hope and pride—his beloved Athens—he began to feel himself a stranger. There, where his greatest triumphs had been secured, and his name stood first upon the immortal scroll of her renowned sons; there, where he had achieved the reputation of the first tragic artist of his age, his spirit walked forth solitary and alone; and at last even Athens became the occasion of his exile. His retirement from that city has been ascribed to various motives; to resentment, among the rest, at the preference bestowed on his rival, Sophocles, who had produced a tragedy which was recited on a memorable occasion. Plutarch says that Cimon, obeying an oracle commanding the Athenians to bring back the bones of their ancient hero, Theseus, to Attica, had diligently sought and successfully discovered these remains in the isle of Scyros, whence he transferred them with great pomp to their native seat. Celebrating this

popular act, public games were instituted, and the tragic poets were invited to a contest. When it occurred, the prize was awarded in a more solemn manner than usual. At the request of the presiding archon, the judges were named by Cimon and his officers, who graced the occasion with their presence. After much deliberation, the prize was assigned to Sophocles; which Æschylus was so little able to brook that he quitted his country for Sicily, where he was hospitably received by Hiero, of Syracuse, a prince of literary tastes and great munificence, and whose name has been immortalized by the muse of Pindar.

Whatever credence may be given to the cause of the banishment or of the exile of Æschylus, his fame is established upon an immovable foundation. Two things are well ascertained and authenticated: one, that he left Athens, whither he never returned; the other, that he settled in Sicily. That island, at that period, had become famous for the cultivation and patronage of literature and the arts. Men of genius from various parts of Greece made the court of Hiero their place of resort. Philosophers and poets dwelt there, and basked in the smiles of the royal favor. Self-banished, therefore, Æschylus remained in Sicily; how long he survived during his exile from Athens, is by no means certain. His was an ambitious and ardent spirit; and Sicily, however attractive in itself, could never have been to the poet what Athens had proved. When his mind recurred to his early friendships and triumphs; when he thought of the ruptured ties which had bound him to his once cherished and immortal home, he had been less than man had he not sighed for the days and the scenes of yore. At times he must have seemed like his own Prometheus chained to a rock, with the angry waves of a remorseless sea dashing around him, and with the vulture eating at his vitals. The cause to which his death is ascribed seems fabulous, and scarcely worthy of credence. An eagle, it is said, as it hovered over the spot where he was seated, absorbed in thought and wrapped in meditation, let fall from its talons a tortoise, which, alighting directly on his bald head, fractured the skull. He is said to have died in his sixty-ninth year. In death he was remembered. His remains were honored with a distinguished funeral, by Hiero, which was signalized by tragic contests. The old poet, however resplendently shone his fame as master of the tragic muse, it would appear thought still more of, yet more highly prized, the glory and renown he had acquired at Marathon. The following is the epitaph he ordered to be inscribed upon his tomb: "This tomb covers the remains of Æschylus, the Athenian, the son of Euphorion, who died at Gelos, fertile in corn. The glades of Marathon would attest

his distinguished valor, and the long-haired Mede who proved it."* The fame acquired by the father of tragedy, the renowned Æschylus, naturally incited others to try their powers in the same field of effort. We have already referred to Sophocles as the successful rival of Æschylus. The latter was just rising into notice when the fame of the former had approached its maturity. We first hear of him as selected, because of his accomplishments, to form one of a chorus of distinguished youths whose office it was to sing a pæan round the public trophy erected in honor of the battle of Marathon at Athens. Æschylus was then hailed as one of the distinguished heroes of that memorable conflict. Little did he think, if he beheld the graceful youth, Sophocles, that day, that he would yet become the most formidable rival of his fame! Sophocles was inferior to Æschylus in the qualities of the terrible and sublime, and seldom did the younger poet rival the older in lyric splendors. Sophocles was more judicious in the selection of his incidents, more correct in the delineation of the passions. His style is dignified. He was a man of fine qualities of heart, and was very popular with his contemporaries. His life was prolonged to the great age of ninety-one. We may say, in summing up the merits of Sophocles, that his style was smoother and less abrupt, his images more graceful, his diction more beautiful than that of his great rival. The spirit of beauty pervaded with its benign presence his compositions. We now come to speak of the works of the eminent poet and illustrious man who is the subject of this paper. His Prometheus is indeed a splendid poem. Its plot is not elaborate, but very simple. It depends for its interest entirely upon the character of Prometheus, who is represented as a giant of the Titanic race, forming a prominent figure in the traditions of Grecian mythology. Some obscure references may be traced in his history to the scriptural account of man's fall, or of Babel's dispersion. The scene is laid on the borders of the ocean, among the crags of Caucasus. Here Prometheus is chained, by order of Jupiter; punished for rebellious opposition to his will. Strength and Force, personified by the poet, are the instruments of his sufferings. His agonies he endures in a spirit of stern and unyielding independence. Lofty is his defiance of the powers of the Thunderer. Such is the picture;

* Pausanias informs us that the poet wrote the epitaph himself. The following is the original text:

Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
Μνῆμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλες.
Ἀλκὴν δὲ εὐδόκιμον Μαραθώνιον ἄλσος ἂν εἴποι
Καὶ βαθυχαίτης Μῆδος ἐπιστάμενος.

which is relieved by the entrance of sea-nymphs and of Old Oceanus. They condole with the sufferer; they recommend submission. In powerful contrast are placed his anguish and fortitude. Equally poetical and sublime are the passages which detail his colloquy with the Chorus. To the last the character of Prometheus is sustained. The thunders and lightnings of vengeance roar and flame in vain around him. Amid all the terrors of the scene, amid all the commotions of the elements, his voice is heard, as he descends into the yawning abyss, uttering defiance.

As an example of the sublime in description, we present the following from Prometheus. He is chained to the savage rock in mid-ocean, whose waves in fury dash around him. He speaks:

"Ethereal air, and ye swift-winged winds;
Ye rivers springing from fresh founts; ye waves,
That o'er the interminable ocean wreath
Your crisped smiles; thou all-producing earth;
And thee, bright sun, I call, whose flaming orb
Views the wide world beneath, see what, a god,
I suffer from the gods; with what fierce pains,
Behold, what tortures for revolving ages
I here must struggle: such unseemly chains
This new-raised ruler of the gods devised.
Ah me! That groan bursts from my anguished heart,
My present woes and future to bemoan.
When shall these sufferings find their destined end?
But why that vain inquiry? My clear sight
Looks through the future; unforeseen no ill
Shall come on me; behooves me, then, to bear
Patient my destined fate, knowing how vain
To struggle with necessity's strong power.
But to complain, or not complain, alike
Is unavailable. For favors shown
To mortal man, I bear this weight of woe;
Hid in a hollow cave the fount of fire
I privately conveyed, of ev'ry art
Productive, and the noblest gift to men.
And for this slight offence, woe, woe is me!
I bear these chains, fix'd to this savage rock;
Unshelter'd from the inclemencies of the air.
Ah me! what sound, what softly-breathing odor
Steals on my sense? Be ye immortal gods,
Or mortal men, or of the heroic race;
Whoe'er have reached this wild rock's extreme cliff,
Spectators of my woes, or what your purpose,
Ye see me bound, a wretched god, abhorr'd
By Jove, and ev'ry god that treads his courts,
For my fond love to man. Ah me! again
I hear the sound of flutt'ring night; the air
Pants to the soft beat of light morning wings;
All that approaches now is dreadful to me."*

* In the original this is inimitably grand. We transcribe a few lines:

ὦ δῖος αἰθὴρ, καὶ ταχύπτεροι πνοαί,
ποταμῶν τε πηγαί, ποντίων τε κυμάτων
ἀνήριθμον γέλασμα, παμμῆτόρ τε γῆ,
καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ
ἴδεσθέ μ', οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός.

Surely this is a consummate introduction of Prometheus. As we hear him recite the story of his woes, our sympathies are at once aroused; we seem to be with him on the same savage rock, the vulture preys upon us as upon him; and we feel the weight and burden of his heavy woes. Strength and Force are sent to chain Prometheus; but they cannot fetter his proud soul; they cannot bind the immortal within him. We would like to quote many passages from this incomparable tragedy, but our space will admit of but few. We are at liberty to take only a pearl here and there, and must let the great treasury of sublimity and beauty alone. What can be finer than the reply of Prometheus to Mercury, who is sent to inquire into the nature of the woes denounced against him, and to threaten, if still necessary, yet heavier punishments! Mercury says:

"Subdue, vain fool, subdue thy insolence,
And let thy miseries teach thee juster thoughts."

The answer is such only as a god painted by infinite genius could give. Prometheus replies:

"Thy counsels, like the waves that dash against
The rock's firm base, disquiet, but not move me.
Conceive not of me that, through fear what Jove
May in his rage inflict, my fix'd disdain
Shall e'er relent, e'er suffer my firm mind
To sink to womanish softness, to fall prostrate,
To stretch my supplicating hands, entreating
My hated foe to free me from these chains.
Far be that shame, that abject weakness, from me."

This is an answer that well becomes a god chained by inexorable decree, as was Prometheus. He could suffer untold agonies; but these should only lift his soul above his woes, and make him stronger for the trial yet to come. Here, indeed, is the triumph of will over the penalties and torments of the body; showing that that can endure more than even the gods themselves can inflict; and though the body endure untold anguish, yet the soul shall help it to its triumph over all. Mercury returns again to the encounter, and entreats Prometheus in another vein.

Mer.—"I see thou art implacable, unsoftened
By all the mild entreaties I can urge.
* * * * * * * * * But mark me well,
If not obedient to my words, a storm,

δέρχθηθ' οἵαις αἰκίαισιν
διακναιόμενος τὸν μυριετῆ
χρόνον ἀθλεύσω. τοιόνδ' ὁ νέος
ταγὸς μακάρων ἐξηῦρ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ
δεσμὸν ἀεικῆ.
φεῦ φεῦ· τὸ παρὸν τό τ' ἐπερχόμενον
πῆμα στενάχω, πῆ ποτε μόχθων
χρὴ τέρματα τῶνδ' ἐπιτεῖλαι.

A fiery and inevitable deluge,
Shall burst in three-fold vengeance on thy head.
First, his fierce thunder, wing'd with lightning flames,
Shall rend this rugged rock, and cover thee
With hideous ruin; long time shalt thou lie
Astonied in its riftod sides, till dragg'd
Again to light; then shall the bird of Jove,
The rav'ning eagle, lured with scent of blood,
Mangle thy body, and each day returning,
An uninvited guest, plunge his fell beak,
And feast and riot on thy black'ning liver.
* * * Be cautious, then.
Regard thyself; let not o'erweaning pride
Despise the friendly voice of prudent counsel."

We close our extracts with the final reply of Prometheus—the answer which leaves him to his fate. For animated description, for sublime imagery, for bold and lofty figures, we think there is hardly anything like it in the works of the ancient poets. The whole scene comes before the mind with strange power, and we are thrilled and impressed by it to such an extent, that words are poor things to convey the feeling. It is, indeed, a magnificent close to one of the foremost productions of the honored father of the tragic muse. The chorus having adjured Prometheus to accept the merciful offer of Mercury, assuring him that his words were not amiss, but fraught with wisdom, telling him of the shame of his persistence in his error, the giant god replies:

"All this I know ere he declared his message.
That enemy from enemy should suffer
Extreme indignity, is nothing strange.
Let him then work his horrible pleasure on me;
Wreath his black curling flames, tempest the air
With volleyed thunders and wild warring winds,
Rend from its roots the firm earth's solid base,
Heave from the roaring main its boisterous waves,
And dash them to the stars; me let him hurl,
Caught in the fiery tempest, to the gloom
Of deepest Tartarus; not all his power
Can quench the ethereal breath of life in me."

We leave the giant chained to the savage rock* alone, with

* In striking and delightful contrast with this is the passage in one of the earlier choruses, in which the poet introduces the episode in regard to the abduction of Helen, and which is well rendered by Bulwer, as follows:

"And woe the halls, and woe the chiefs,
And woe the bridal bed!
And woe her steps—for once she loved
The lord whose love she fled!
Lo! where, dishonor yet unknown,
He sits—nor deems his Helen flown,
Tearless and voiceless on the spot;
All desert, but he feels it not!
Ah! soon alive, to miss and mourn
The form beyond the ocean borne
Shall start the lonely king!
And thought shall fill the lost one's room,
And darkly through the palace gloom
Shall stalk—a ghostly thing.
Her statues meet, as round they rise,
The leaden stare of lifeless eyes.

the fate decreed against him. The thunders roll and lightnings flash around him; the angry waves dash in fury against the place of his captivity. Abandoned of gods and men, he suffers on in untold agonies. But his soul is still strong; his spirit yet rises with the necessities of the hour; the ethereal spark flames upwards to the stars; he is still a god, immortal; still lifts his crest defiant and contending.

Pro.—"He fables not; I feel in very deed
The firm earth rock; the thunder's deep'ning roar
Rolls with redoubled rage; the bick'ring flames
Flash thick; the eddying sands are whirl'd on high;
In dreadful opposition the wild winds
Rend the vex'd air; the boist'rous billows rise,
Confounding sea and sky; the impetuous storm
Rolls all its terrible fury on my head.
See'st thou this, awful Themis; and thou, Ether,
Through whose pure azure floats the general stream
Of liquid light, see you what wrongs I suffer?"

We desire to call the attention of our readers to the plot or argument of the Seven Chiefs against Thebes; not intending, however, to do more than to present this, and then give a passage or two from the play. The plot is as follows: Polynices, the son of Œdipus and Jocasta, being unjustly deprived of his share of the government by his brother, Eteocles, repairs to Argos, where he marries the daughter of king Adrastos. With the assistance of his father-in-law and five other warlike princes, spreads terror and desolation in the Theban territories, and advances to the gates of the capital. The assailants are repelled, and the two brothers slain in single combat with each other. The Theban senators are no sooner delivered from the apprehensions of a hostile occupation of their city, than they issue a decree that the corpse of Polynices shall remain unburied. Antigone, his sister, openly avows her determination to resist this arbitrary mandate, and prepares to perform the rites of sepulture to her unfortunate brother. The Herald enters and proclaims the mandate of the great rulers of the Theban State. This is done in the presence of Antigone, who, for the love she bears her brother, and with

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Where is their ancient beauty gone?
Why loathe his looks the breathing stone?
Alas! the foulness of disgrace
Hath swept the Venus from her face!"

That the author of the Prometheus was not insensible to the charms of female beauty is sufficiently evident from another passage in the same tragedy:

"When first she came to Ilion's towers,
Oh, what a glorious sight, I ween, was there!
The tranquil beauty of the gorgeous queen
Hung soft as breathless summer on her cheeks,
Where on the damask sweet the glowing zephyr slept;
And like an idol beaming from its shrine,
So o'er the floating gold around her thrown
Her peerless face did shine;
And though soft sweetness hung upon their lids,
Yet her young eyes still wounded where they look'd."

true sisterly affection, thus determines upon his sepulture. The Herald speaks:

"My office leads me to proclaim the mandate
Of the great rulers of the Theban State.
Eteocles, for that he loved his country,
They have decreed with honor to inter.
To shield her from her foes, he fought, he fell;
Her sacred rights revered, unstained with blame;
Where glory calls the valiant youth to bleed,
He bled. Thus far of him am I bid say
Of Polynices, that his corpse shall lie
Cast out, unburied, to the dogs a prey." * * * *

Antigone, the sister of Polynices, thus replies:

"And to these Theban rulers I declare,
If none besides dare bury him, myself
Will do that office, heedless of the danger,
And think no shame to disobey the State,
Paying the last sad duties to a brother.
Nature has tender ties, and strongly joins
The offspring of the same unhappy mother,
And the same wretched father. In this task
Shrink not, my soul, to share the ills he suffer'd—
Involuntary ills; and while life warms
This breast, be bold to show a sister's love
To a dead brother. * * * * * I, though a woman,
Will prepare his tomb—dig up the earth,
And bear it on this bosom; in these fine folds to cover him.
Go to, I will not be opposed. Fruitful invention
Shall devise means to execute the task."

Surely this is a very beautiful picture of a sister's love for a brother. It is, indeed, a transcript of nature. Not only the grief of Antigone, but her pride, appears in her exclamations in the presence of the dead. Centuries have passed since Æschylus painted this scene, depicting, in his matchless manner, the bowed and anguished form of the amiable sister of Polynices above the cold body of her brother. Yet, in the kind and reverent offices she performed on that mournful occasion, we behold in her a representative woman, a true sister, and a faithful friend. We are touched by her grief; her tears are precious; her pride, the delight of angels and of men, but makes her the more winning and attractive. We make her grief our own; our tears flow with hers; our sympathies transform the stranger to the friend. So is the whole world kin; and the sacred utterance is true: "If one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; and if one rejoice, all rejoice with it." In heathen or in Christian, such sentiments and feelings are worthy of our nature. They bridge the centuries, and the nations of the earth become "no longer twain, but one." Æschylus is pronounced the poet of the terrible and sublime. His reputation rests upon his characteristics of boldness and of loftiness of imagery; but these were not the only features which marked his productions. As we have already seen, the beautiful, the tender and the graceful, as well as the sublime and the grand,

characterize his works, running like a pure sweet stream beneath the overhanging cliffs and jagged rocks and boulders of the way. His was the power of consummate genius, enabling him at will to command the awful and the pathetic; to clothe the brow with thunders and to seam it with frowns, or to encircle it with smiles and to dimple the fair cheeks with sunbeams. In Æschylus, we not only hear the thunder and feel the earthquake, and follow with fear the livid lightning as it rends the skies, but it is also ours to listen delighted to the "still, small voice" of purity and peace. Agamemnon is another of the remarkable productions of Æschylus. We will state the argument, and then proceed to make some quotations from the drama. It reads thus: During the absence of Agamemnon at the siege of Troy, his wife, Clytemnestra, forms an adulterous intercourse with Ægisthus, who prevails on the partner of his guilt to murder her husband, on his return. The captive Cassandra, now the property of Agamemnon, foreseeing the destruction of her unhappy master, endeavors to avert his impending fate, which exposes her to the vengeance of the murderess, who openly glories in her guilt, rewarding the fidelity of the ill-fated prophetess by consigning her to an untimely death.

We quote from the opening speech of the watchmen, invoking the fiery signal, so long expected, of the fall of Troy, and its sudden appearance. These form a fine and highly picturesque introduction to the succeeding scenes:

Watchman.—"Ye favoring gods, relieve me from this toil.
Forced as a dog on Agamemnon's roof,
I watch the live-long year, observing hence
The host of stars, that in the spangled skies
Take their bright stations, and to mortals bring
Winter and summer; radiant rulers when
They set; or rising, glitter through the night.
Here now I watch, if haply I may see
The blazing torch whose flame brings news from Troy;
The signal of its ruin; these high hopes
My royal mistress, thinking on her lord,
Feeds in her heart."

Then we have the arrival of the Herald, which dissipates all doubts as to the meaning of the signal, together with his feelings of delight at finding himself again on Grecian soil.

Her.—"Hail, thou paternal soil of Argive earth!
In the fair light of the tenth year to thee
Returned, from the sad wreck of many hopes
This one, I save; saved from despair e'en this;
For never thought I in this honor'd earth
To share in death the portion of a tomb."

The return of Agamemnon, too, is very fine. He comes back covered with glory, the great illustrious head of the Grecian confederacy. To the city and throne of his ancestors he comes,

so soon arrived at the summit of his wishes and his hopes—so soon, alas! to be plunged into the abyss of shame and degradation. The contrast is striking; the change is so rapid from glory and honor to degradation and shame! Agamemnon is not only the wise and dignified monarch, and the good man, but he is the heroic chieftain as well. His past experiences, the fickelness of fortune, and the trials of life, have changed him. They have chastened his feelings and moderated his aspirations and his pride, even in view of his signal victories and triumphs.

Agamemnon, returning in triumph, a crowned and welcomed victor, thus speaks:

Aga.—"To Argos first, and to my country's gods,
I bow with reverence, by whose holy guidance
On Troy's proud towers I poured their righteous vengeance,
And now revisit safe my native soil. * * * *
* * * * * * * * * But my royal roof
Now will I visit, and before its hearths
Offer libations to the gods who sent me
To this far-distant war and led me back.
Firm stands the victory that attends our arms."

The treacherous Clytemnestra, the perjured wife, thus receives her husband:

Cly.—"Friends, fellow-citizens, whose counsels
Guide the state of Argos, in your reverend presence
A wife's fond love I blush not to disclose;
Thus habit softens dread. From my full heart
Will I recount my melancholy life
Through the long stay of my loved lord at Troy.
For a weak woman, in her husband's absence,
Pensive to sit and lonely in her house,
'Tis dismal, list'ning to each frightful tale."

But the most beautiful picture drawn by the poet is that of Cassandra, the poor captive, suffering in behalf of virtue and of honor. Foreseeing the destruction of her unhappy master, she endeavors to avert his impending fate. Her trials and sufferings in consequence of her fidelity are depicted in the most masterly manner. She exclaims:

Cas.—"Ah, me! the fortune of the nightingale
Is to be envied; on her light-poised plumes,
She wings at will her easy way, nor knows
The anguish of a tear; while o'er my head
The impending sword threatens the fatal wound."

Her doom has been pronounced; her fate is death; her hour strikes; her knell of hope is striking; soon she offers up her life in testimony of her honor. The closing scene is one calculated to draw tears from hearts of stone. Reviewing her sad career, and at length reaching its termination of horror and despair, we can look, and sympathize, and suffer no longer. How thrilling and beautiful, how full of sublime pathos, is her apostrophe—her address to the sun! The Chorus had expressed their sorrow for her:

Cho.—"Thy fate, poor sufferer, fills my eyes with tears."

And she replies:

Cas.—"Yet once more let me raise my mournful voice—
Thou Sun, whose rising beams shall bless no more
Those closing eyes! You, whose vindictive rage
Hangs o'er my hated murderess, O, avenge me!
Though a poor slave, I fall an easy prey!
This is the state of man; in prosperous fortune,
A shadow passing light, throws to the ground
Joy's baseless fabric; in adversity
Comes malice, with a sponge moistened in gall,
And wipes each beauteous character away—
More than the first, this melts my soul to pity."

Here we must end. We cannot find space for further quotations, nor is it necessary, to show the beauties of this noble tragedy. Clytemnestra, standing above the corpse of her husband, and still holding in her hand the bloody instrument of his death, is the last scene of real power in the play. But let the curtain fall; the scene is too painful to contemplate; all is over; the master-spirit and presence departs. If the article we have written will but lead our youth to the study of those models of excellence presented in the dramas and works of Æschylus, and to an appreciation of those illustrious productions, which have been the wonder and admiration of the world, produced by his compeers, we shall feel ourselves more than repaid for the research necessary to its preparation.

Art. II.—1. *Archæologia Americana: Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society.* Vol. II. Cambridge 1836.

2. *Travels in the Central Portions of the Mississippi Valley; comprising Observations on its Minerals, Geography, Internal Resources and Aboriginal Population.* By Henry R. Schoolcraft. New York. 1825.

3. *Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c., of the Indians living within the United States.* Detroit. 1823.

The aboriginal inhabitants of this country, whose origin is obscured by a night of shadows, are vanishing like the dews of the morning before the advancing Caucasian. An eminent American has expressed a wish that the "Sibyl leaf" which records the Indian's peculiar character could be rescued from the wind as it floats by us.

At the gloomiest period in the moral history of our world, when the Romans were rapidly extending their conquests over other nations, and the eagles of the great Republic were waving

over that land, in which the Hebrew prophets had said their Messiah would appear—at that dark epoch, when Jewish priests were performing the outward ceremonies of the law, and the moral shadows of the people grew more dense, as the dawn of Christianity approached—in that "darkest hour which just precedes the day," a heathen philosopher was employed in writing "On the Nature of the Gods."* He knew nothing of the sacred books which contained the only recorded revelation on the subject of which he wrote; but the sentiments he advanced have influenced the minds of wise men in succeeding centuries. A single sentence is worthy of repetition. "There is no nation so wild and savage, no man so rude and uncultivated, whose mind is not imbued with the opinion that there are gods. Many have wrong sentiments concerning them, but all think there is a Divine power and nature."

By the faint light of unwritten revelation, Cicero had discerned a sublime truth, at a time when it might appear to us that he could have had slight knowledge of such a subject. The Romans then knew little of the world. They had seen almost nothing of Britain, or of Northern Europe. They knew nothing of Northern or Eastern Asia, and Northern Africa was but imperfectly understood. Little could then be learned by reading. Neither Livy nor Tacitus had taught the world how history ought to be written. Augustus was but a youthful soldier, and Virgil was an undistinguished student.

At that time there was a whole continent, far to the West, of which Cicero had never dreamed. It extended nearly from one pole of the earth to the other, and was larger than all the world then known to the Romans. That continent was inhabited by a people who were building temples and cities as magnificent as those of Italy, but in a style of art which the eyes of a Roman never saw, and they were speaking a language which the ears of a Roman never heard. And these people, like those of whom Cicero had heard, were worshippers of the Supreme Being.

And now nineteen centuries have rolled away, and Rome and her religion have undergone strange revolutions—revolutions which Cicero never anticipated. The faith of the conquered province of Judea has been adopted by the rulers of the "Eternal City," and the patriarch of the Christian Church stood forth for many centuries the expounder of its doctrines for all nations. But the religion of the long unknown continent has continued to our own times. Like the "perpetual fire" of the Persian, it has burned on in defiance of all the storms of ages.

What was that religion which has outlived the worship of

* *De Naturâ Deorum.*

the Jupiter of the Romans, or that of the Diana of the Ephesians? What were the essential features of a faith which was so simple in its forms that every votary was a priest, and which was yet so strong that the soul was invigorated in every deed of charity and love by its powers? Let the priests of Nature, who have no dark mysteries to conceal, be interrogated. Let their only sanctuary, though it be "a house not made with hands," be visited and explored.

As the historian has found the population of the Old World at every period of its history divided into civilized or stationary, wandering or barbarous nations, so we find that in the New World the same distinction has existed throughout unknown ages. The earliest religion was a pure theism, without temples or idols. These essential agents in the political mechanism of idolatry were not known to the ancestors of the Greeks, Romans, Egyptians and Hebrews. The first religion, then, of all nations, was essentially the same. It is vain to seek for its origin except in some direct revelation from the Creator himself. This was not at first given by a written message to men, but by direct inspiration. It has been perpetuated by the same power that sustains the physical universe. Hence it has remained in the world since the first hour it was communicated to the first man; sustaining, indeed, a variety of corruptions, but still existing.

In the New World, as in the Old, the simple faith of the first ages underwent various modifications among the nations which made progress in refinement. The nomadic tribes retained more nearly the same faith as it had been handed down from their ancestors—adopting none of the forms or symbols of refinement. In this state the Christian priest found the North American Indian. He had built no massive palaces or monuments of his own; but he was discovered walking among the old cities and fortifications of a people of whom he could tell but little. In one place was the tomb of an ancient king, who had said as he approached the grave, as said the Gaelic poet when he lay down to die, "gray stones and a mound of earth shall send my name to other times." The giant frame of the king was found, but his name could never be known. In another place the conqueror of nations had only a small tumulus of earth piled over him, and men came and looked upon the spot. They said, as the Celt did over a fallen enemy, "Narrow is thy dwelling now! dark the place of thine abode! Oh thou, who wast so great before! These stones, with their heads of moss, are the only memorials of thee!"* On the next hill was seen the

* Ossian.

mound erected "to commemorate the illustrious dead." Those who erected it had exclaimed with those who buried the Celtic chief, "We raised the earth around the stone and bade it speak to future years."

It has spoken to future years, and to future ages, but the name of the chieftain is nowhere recorded, and is unremembered. The last Aztec was driven from his temples and from the tombs of his fathers a thousand years ago, and the roving Indian has smoked his pipe on "the high places" where human sacrifices had been offered to the "god of war," and he has hunted the boar and the buffalo over the graves of a forgotten people. The Aztec and his religion found a resting-place in the vale of Mexico. There again the temple of Mars was erected,

> "And Aztec priests upon the Teôcallis
> Beat the wild war-drum made of serpents' skin."

The Indian, scorning alike the science, the refinements, and the bloody superstition of the Aztec, found a more peaceful life and a truer happiness in the exercise of a more cheerful faith.* The first striking feature of that faith is the belief of all Indians in the existence of a Supreme Being. The American Indians have all worshipped *one Great and Good Spirit*. If they have ever shown an appearance of adoration to any inferior object, it has only been directed through that object to the Supreme Being above, who created it and the Indians. That they have always been pure *theists* of the least sensual order, and have never been idolaters, can be abundantly proved by all the authorities from the discovery of the continent till now. Adair, who was a trader among them forty years before the Revolution, was so fully convinced of their devotion to the service of the one supreme God of Heaven and Earth, that he thought they must be the same people as the ancient Hebrews, and must have brought the religion of the Israelites with them from Asia. The same opinion was advo-

* Dr. Prichard, who is a very learned investigator of the origin of nations, and who is a warm advocate for the unity of the human race, says regarding the American nations generally: "It must be admitted that certain characters are discoverable which are common, or nearly so, to the whole of this department of nations; that there are strong indications, if not proofs, of a community of origin, or of very ancient relationship, among them; and that, in surveying collectively the people of the New World, we contemplate human nature under a peculiar aspect. On comparing the American tribes together, we find reasons to believe that they must have subsisted as a separate department of nations from the earliest ages of the world. Hence, in attempting to trace relations between them and the rest of mankind, we cannot expect to discover proofs of their derivation from any particular tribe or nation in the Old Continent. The era of their existence as a distinct and insulated race must probably be dated as far back as that time which separated into nations the inhabitants of the Old World, and gave to each branch of the human family its primitive language and individuality."—*Natural History of Man.* By JAMES COWLES PRICHARD. London, 1855. Vol. ii., p. 494.

cated by William Penn. Du Pratz found the Mississippi Indians worshipping a "great and most perfect Spirit, compared with whom all other things were as nothing, and by whom all things were made." Another author says the Indians have but one God, YOHEWAH, the beneficent, supreme, and Holy Spirit, who dwells in the clouds above, and in the hearts of all good people. Carver says they consider him infinitely good.

Lewis and Clark, half a century ago, found the whole religion of the Mandans of the Upper Missouri to consist in a strong and unchanging faith in the *One Great Spirit*, who presided over the destinies of all men. His favor was so much desired, that to obtain it they made every possible effort, and "sacrificed every personal consideration."

When the venerable missionary Heckewelder had been forty years among the Delawares of Ohio, he said that habitual devotion to the Great Being was one of the most prominent traits in the mind of an Indian. The same fact was asserted by Gookin near two hundred years ago, and has been confirmed by every author of later times. Roger Williams said if any man should doubt the existence of the God of the universe who made it, "the Indians would teach him." So fully does this belief occupy the minds of the most distant and uncultivated tribes, that every chief, and every orator, in every speech, refers to the Master of life who created all things, and claims the adoration of all hearts.

The precise idea entertained by the Indians of HIS *personal* existence has been nearly the same among all the American nations. They have never regarded him as a formless, undefinable, incomprehensible essence, but as a *person*, who possessed all the attributes of a *man* in the highest possible perfection. The opinions of nations remote from each other have not been substantially different. A few of these, taken from various localities, will show what the Indian belief has been for ages.

The Great Spirit was represented by the Mexicans and their kindred nations when the Spaniards first visited them, as a mighty and perfect *Man*. They imagined him to be in appearance like a white man. When they were asked to describe their ideal Deity, they portrayed a venerable and majestic man "wearing a beard." The Santees told Lawson, when they had been praying at a distance, that they "had been talking with the White Man above." The people who thus spoke are lost among the obliterated nations, but their faith still lives throughout the plains and the mountains of the Far West.

The Chippewas of British America believe universally in the existence of the Divine Master, who is invisible to mortal eyes, who created and governs the universe, and who is the only

being truly good. By his power men live again after death in happiness or sorrow, according to their actions in this life.

The Pottowatomies of Lake Michigan believe in *one only God* —an irresistible and almighty Spirit. The word by which they expressed his greatness signified something more than greatness generally, as it was never applied to anything of a material or sensual character. If it were ever used as applied to a man, it was only in the sense that we would speak of a godly man. They would think the word *profaned* by applying it to any common or worldly thing.

They believe that the Good Spirit resides in that part of the sky where the sun stands at noonday, the very zenith and apex of heaven; that He is always there, and yet is spiritually so near to us that every thought is plain before him; and that he is so very benevolent that no prayers are necessary to make him kind and merciful. In 1822 the venerable Sac Chief, Winebed, on the Upper Mississippi, said he believed in the existence of the Supreme Spirit. He supposed him to be in form like a man, even "like a white man in dress, and wearing a hat."

The Miamis have always given the same opinion as the Western Indians generally. The same sublime and lofty sentiment was fully received by all the individuals who have been questioned upon the subject. One of the chiefs humbly conjectured that the Great Spirit might have created an inferior God, who might be intrusted with the care of the Indians.

The belief of the Shawanese in the last century was, that the Great Spirit was in form like a man; not a white man, however, but an Indian—that he was the *Great First Indian*, who created the world. He created the different races of men, not out of nothing, but out of *himself*. He made the Shawanese first, as the parent tribe of all the Indians, and made them from his brain. He made them so perfect that they could be in immediate and perpetual intercourse with himself, and thus they had all the knowledge he himself possessed. For ages they were perfectly happy. But they afterwards declined in spiritual holiness, and their Father took from them all the knowledge, and gave it to the white races of men, whom he created and placed beyond the Great Salt Lake.*

* The most decided and most clearly-marked evidence of relationship between these nations is to be found in the characteristic structure of their languages. Humboldt, Vater, M. Du Ponceau, Pickering, and Gallatin have thrown much light on the subject. Humboldt says: "In America, from the country of the Esquimaux to the banks of the Orinoco, and again from these torrid banks to the frozen climate of the Straits of Magellan, mother tongues entirely different with regard to their roots have, if we may use the expresion, the same physiognomy. Idioms which do not resemble each other more than the roots of the Sclavonian and Biscayan have resemblances of internal mechanism similar to those which are found in the Sanskrit, the Persian, the Greek, and the German languages." Mr. Gallatin draws the same conclusion from the researches of philologers in the following

Let it not be thought surprising if, in our efforts to portray the interior mind of a mysterious race, we sometimes obtain, through imperfect translations from their figurative language, expressions unworthy of our theme, or of the Indian himself. In his *real* thoughts there is a moral sublimity which his meagre language can but faintly express. His deepest communings with the God of Nature have been in "the groves, which were God's first temples." He has felt the consciousness of the Divine presence on the shores of the vast lakes, on the tops of the everlasting mountains, and in every part of the flowery prairies—those loveliest "gardens of the desert." And his heart has swelled with adoration and his lips thrilled with praise, when he looked over the distant plains, and felt that *his* country embraced the whole of that unbroken wild

"Where lingers yet
The beauty of the earth ere man had sinned."

It has been said that the prominent religious opinions of the American race have found their expression in some modification of what is usually denominated "sun-worship." This is only true so far as the sun is considered as a *symbol* of the real Deity. The sun was nowhere regarded among the Indians as a supreme divinity, but as an inferior, typical representative of the Creator, who was the only true and real object of worship, and who exhibited himself to men through these material symbols. The Indian saw God's shadow in the sun—a far more poetical and sublime belief than that of the Persians.

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words: "All the languages, not only of our own Indians, but of the native inhabitants of America from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn, have, as far as they have been investigated, a distinct character common to all, and apparently differing from any of those of the other continent with which we are most familiar."—*Archæologia Americana*, vol. ii.

All the American languages, from the most northern shores of Greenland to the most southern point of Patagonia, possess two common grammatical characteristics: one of these exists also in some of the primitive languages of the ancient continent; the other is characteristic of the American tongue, and is the link which unites them. The first relates to the whole grammar, since it is formed, not by any internal change of the radical sound of a word, or by inflection, but by the addition to the radical word of particles or special words which convey the relation it is desired to express, or in other words, by a *mechanical affix*. On this account, these languages have received the name of polisynthetic or agglutinate languages. The second characteristic which is peculiar to the American languages consists in particular forms of the verb by means of which the activity of the subject is transferred to a personal object; that is to say, if the action of a *personal* subject is directed to a person, the pronoun which indicates this person is expressed by a change in the verb, and not by the intercalation of the accusative of the pronoun, as in the European languages, but by different affixes to the pronoun, intimately united both with it and with the verbal trunk, or with the verb thus combined with its particles. In the Quinchua language, *cosa* means a husband; and, the affix *ntin* expressing the idea of union, *cosantin* means a husband with his wife; *hacha* signifies a tree; *hachantin*, a tree with its roots. In the pronouns and other parts of speech, men use different words from women. A brother, speaking of his sister, says *panay*, (my sister;) while a sister, desiring to express the same thing, says *nanay*, (my sister.) A father says *cheeriy*, (my son,) and the mother says *kasihuahuay*, (my son;) and so on as to the other relations.—TSCHUDI.

In the allegorical language of the Indians, they often personify some of the powers of nature, and speak of them as real beings. They speak of the Spirit of the Southwest, which sends them in the autumnal breezes the "Indian summer." They speak of the Spirit of the Northwest, with as much distinctness as if it were a personal agent, intelligently talking to them. And it is sometimes difficult to separate the allegorical and figurative from the literal and impossible. But none of these powers are worshipped except as *media* through which their expressions of gratitude pass to the Author of all.

In other nations the type has often been adopted as the real object of worship. In India the Brahmins taught the people to regard the symbols as realities. In Egypt the priests followed the same system until they became as much bewildered as their people with the multitude of their gods; and both priests and people worshipped objects as *real* divinities which their fathers had only honored as *representative*.

Sun-worship seems to have been universal over the Old World. It has been found in Egypt, Chaldea, Persia, Greece, India, Scandinavia, Lapland, Britain, Germany, and many other countries. "The Fire-Worshippers" had been taught by their fathers to worship the sun and the fire, as the emblems of the God of the world. They ceased to look beyond the emblem, and worshipped it as the real Deity. In Mexico and Peru the Incas and priests claimed to be "children of the sun." But the Indians of North America have continued to look beyond the symbol to the being it represented. They have never been idolaters. They have never worshipped the emblem in the place of the true Deity. And still, in their figurative language, they often speak as if they considered the sun as their God. They often call themselves "children of the sun," as well as "souls made of fire." The Indian warrior and orator, Tecumseh, at the conclusion of a long and animated speech, was told that his "father, the Governor of Indiana, desired him to take a chair." He rejected it with scorn. "My father!" said the indignant chief, throwing himself on the ground, "the sun is my father! and the earth is my mother, and I will repose upon her bosom!"

The allegorical language of the Indians is not always intelligible even to the more ignorant among themselves. Like the language of the oldest nations in their primitive state, it contains more than appears upon the surface. The Indian picture-writing, like that of the Egyptians, can be in some degree understood by the most ignorant, but it contains within it much that can only be seen by the *initiated*, who comprehend all the mysteries of their philosophy and religion. Their spoken lan-

guage has the same characteristics. The Osage chief who told the people of New England that he always thought the sun, moon, earth, and sky to be "the principal gods," also told them that the old men of his nation had told him about the Great Spirit from his earliest childhood. The chief who told the missionary about "the gods that he could see," such as the sun, moon, and seven stars, and the Indians of the same nation, who wept at the sight of the eclipse of the moon, fearing "the moon was dead," were equally familiar with the *higher* truth, that a higher Divinity had created them all. The young Indian speaks to the rattle-snake as to an intelligent creature, and calls him a spirit, and attributes his fascinating power to some high intellectual faculty. But he does not regard the serpent as a divinity, though he speaks to him as one, and places the tobacco near his dead body to show the respect a warrior feels for him. And the Indians of British America paint the figures of various inferior deities on their shields when they go to war, and yet they regard only with the highest reverence the one greater Being, who is above them all.

Indians in every situation in life acknowledge their dependence on Divine Providence. They never meet a friend whom they really desire to see, without expressing their thankfulness to *the Father above* for so disposing the affairs of earth that they are permitted to enjoy that pleasure. This is so frequently noticed that white men think it must be a mere formal ceremony, and they often refer to incongruous speeches, made by men who combine religious feeling with personal vanity in singular proportions. An instance of this may be seen in the diplomatic career of a renowned chief of the Delawares.

In the year 1785, the American Congress sent three Commissioners to hold a Council with the Indians at Fort McIntosh, on the Ohio. The principal Indian chieftain present was Buckongehelos, the Delaware king. When he was introduced to the American commissioners he saw that the first two, though statesmen of some distinction, were only "*peace chiefs*," and he passed by them without speaking a word. But when he came to General George Clark, the man who had captured Kaskaskia and Vincennes, conquered all Illinois and Indiana for his country, and sent the British Governor of Detroit in irons to Virginia, he felt the presence of a congenial soul. Grasping the hand of the "Long-knife Chief," he said: "I thank the Great Spirit for having this day brought together two such *mighty warriors* as Buckongehelos and General Clark!"

The Delaware chief was proud and vain, but he was sincere in all he said. Never, in his opinion, did two greater warriors meet "to smoke the pipe of peace and drink *fire-water*" together

in the woods. But a religion which does not sustain the soul in the hour of trial and misfortune is not likely to be valued at any other time. And, if we wish to see the real influence of an Indian's faith, it will be necessary to observe him in scenes in which that faith is the only anchor of hope. A single instance will exhibit the uncivilized chieftain in his native woods, as he was in his better days.

One hundred years ago Col. James Smith was a captive in the interior of the present State of Ohio. His adopted Indian brother, then sixty years of age, was confined in his camp by rheumatism, and Smith was alone depended on to supply their wants by hunting. He was unfortunate, and sat down at night in despair. His old brother, expecting this, had kept the only food which a small boy had been able to pick up, and now permitted Smith to eat it all. The poor boy watched the last morsel as it disappeared, and submitted without complaining, though he saw that he must sleep the third night without food.

After all this trial of the fortitude of the old chief and his starving son, the white man, Christian as he was, needed a pious exhortation from his heathen brother. The old man saw this, and said: "I was once young like you, but I am now old. I have seen the snows of sixty winters fall, and have often been in worse conditions for want of food than we are now; yet I have always been supplied, and that, too, at the very time when I was ready to despair. Brother, you have been brought up among white men, and have not had the same opportunity to see how wonderfully the Great Spirit provides for his children in the woods! He sometimes lets them be in great want, to teach them that they are dependent upon him, and to remind them of their own weakness. But he never permits them absolutely to perish. Now, be assured your brother is telling you no falsehood; but be satisfied that the Good Being will do as I have told you. Go now, sleep soundly, rise early in the morning, and go out to hunt; be strong, and be diligent; do your best, and trust to the Great Spirit."

This was the speech of a wild Indian, who had never been taught by the Christian teachers to restrain his passions. He was suffering excessive pain from disease and hunger. He had denied himself and son the scanty food which that son had been able to prepare from the bones and sinews of the fox and wild-cat. This had all been saved for the white prisoner brother who was expected to come in exhausted by fruitless efforts. And now, from Smith's inexperience in hunting, there was no human prospect of relief.

The white prisoner was deeply impressed with the old Indian's

speech, and determined to follow his advice. He saw that, if the religion of the savage was not superior to his own, a life in the wilderness had developed such philosophy as common white men never learned. From the early dawn of the next day he pursued the wild deer over vast fields of snow till the sun reached his meridian height. Hunger now became excessive, and the faith of the hunter and his fortitude sank together. In a fit of despair, he determined to run back through the woods to Pennsylvania, and leave the trusting Indian and his son to starve together. After going a few miles, he killed a large buffalo. Having roasted and eaten some of this, he remembered the old man and the little boy whom he had abandoned to die in the forest. He could not go forward, and he hastily returned, carrying with him what would save their lives. He found the old chief waiting with pious fortitude, and now most grateful to his white brother and their Heavenly Father.

Other incidents which might illustrate the confidence with which the true Indian has ever confided in the Giver of all Good, need not be presented now. The people who have spent all their days and nights amid the grandest scenes of nature have been compelled to feel that the God of Nature was ever very near. "Overwhelmed by calamities and exposed to dangers which he cannot repel, the savage has no reliance on himself." Among other nations, the priests of many discordant creeds have seized upon the most terrific phenomena of nature to impress the ignorant or the wicked with the solemnities of death and a future life. But the Indian looks up with unshrinking features at the gathering tempest. He thinks the Great Spirit can control it. It was in the midst of the thunder-storm that the Druids performed the most awful ceremonies of their faith. It was when the lurid glare of the lightning illuminated the night, that the gigantic osier figure, filled with human beings, sunk into the flames, and the shrieks of the dying were drowned in the sullen roar of the thunder that rolled above their heads. Even the minister of the purest and most peaceful religion ever known to men has sometimes ventured to appeal to the most majestic displays of physical nature to aid him in awing and subduing men who had heard promises and threatenings without emotion. "Did you see that flash?" said the Christian orator, when the lightning played upon the corner of his desk. "It was a flash from the angry eye of Jehovah! Did you hear that voice? It was the voice of the Almighty as he passed by in his anger!"

But it is not with fear of meeting an angry Deity that the *Indian* looks up at such scenes as these. He thinks there are evil influences all around him, and that one superior, wicked

spirit rules them all. But they are *all subordinate to a far higher Being*, whose watchful eyes are ever over him, and who is too merciful even to wait to be asked for his kind protection. And when the Indian looks up at the gathering storm, he trusts in the protecting power which rules the spirits, who might be permitted to raise the tempest. As there was one tree at Rome which was sacred to Jupiter, and exempt from the lightning's stroke, so the Indian found that the beech-tree of his native woods had been left unscarred by lightning in all the storms of ages. When he stood under this tree, which furnished his best shade from the sun and best shelter from the rain, a greater than Jupiter shielded him and his favorite tree. He looked out upon the wild scenery of the tempest-rocked forest and listened to the roar of the hurricane among the crashing trunks and branches, and with a feeling of pride reflected that he was dependent upon nothing earthly but himself. And when he wrapped his robe about him which the monarch buffalo had worn before, and calmly lay down to rest amid the clashing of Heaven's artillery, he felt that every leaf of the bed on which he rested, like

> "The laurel-wreath that glory weaves,
> Was of a tree no bolt of thunder cleaves."

The Indian idea of conscience is the same as that of religious people generally. It was expressed in this manner by an aged Wyandot chief: "When I was young I sometimes did wrong, and then I felt very unhappy until the bad feeling wore off. I heard the old people talk of the Great Spirit, but I did not know how he should be worshipped, except it would be by giving him the best I had."

The prayers which the Indians offer to the great Giver of all good are the result of their earnest belief in His presence with them in every trial. The old warrior who died a zealous Christian at Sandusky in 1824, was not more sincere in his devotions on the bed of death than he had been seventy years before that time, when he prayed the Great Spirit to "help a poor prisoner boy to swim over the Ohio river that he might get home to his own country." He was so grateful for the protection and guidance of his heavenly Father during his long journey from the mountains of Tennessee to his distant home on Lake Erie, that he sacrificed part of the first deer he killed after he crossed the Ohio "to the Great Spirit for his goodness."

The Delaware chief on the Scioto prayed for the restoration of his health, for success in hunting, and for rain to raise the river. To manifest his confidence in the Good Being he addressed, and his desire to please him, the chief made an offering of all the tobacco he had. He then claimed of that God from

whom he possessed no written revelation, the fulfilment of *promises* which he thought were implied in the general benevolence of the Divine character. When his Christian brother laughed at the burning of the tobacco, the chief reproved him in so solemn and affectionate a manner that the enlightened Christian was humbled and awed in his presence.

The manner in which Indian sacrifices were offered was different on different occasions. Some things were offered by burning them; others by casting them on the waters, or by hanging them on a tree. Some were disposed of in ways entirely different from all these, but they all had in view the same end. They all placed the object offered where its former owner could not again use it. They believed the *intention* to be the true test of the acceptableness of the offering, and thought it would be appreciated according to the devotional feelings of the person by whom it was presented. These offerings were made on the most common occasions. They were offered to the Creator of the world, though they were often given through inferior creatures. Though gratitude to the great Master of life was always due, yet he needed none of the gifts which a poor Indian could bestow, and was willing to see them offered to other beings in gratitude for favors received *through them*. And in all cases the *manner* of offering was a matter of indifference, if the desire of the heart was to devote the object to their great Master's service. An old Mandan chief told Lewis and Clark that he had recently owned eight horses; "but," said he, "I have devoted them all to the Great Spirit. I turned them out in the great prairie, and abandoned them for ever."

There has been a general belief among all the North American Indians in the powers of certain persons to obtain knowledge by supernatural means, from the invisible spirits whom they imagined to exist around them. These favored persons have been called *prophets*, or *magicians*, and professed to obtain mysterious communications from familiar spirits concerning the past, the distant or the future. The people have believed that some of these had the power of *second-sight*, or *clairvoyance;* and their successes were always sufficiently wonderful to keep up their fame. Thus the old prophet, who heard the alarm given in a winter night near Lake Erie that enemies were at hand, performed his usual incantations, and assured his frightened friends that no Indians were near him. In his vision he had seen nothing but wolves. And the tracks of wolves were afterwards found.

Mr. Carver says he saw some Indians of the north-western lakes consult the Killistinoe priest to learn when the traders would arrive and relieve them from threatened starvation. He

had questioned the superior powers, and said the Great Spirit had not informed him precisely of the time, but he had been told that a canoe would arrive at noon to-morrow; the men in that canoe would tell them when the traders would be there. This was all fulfilled. Mr. Henry says the Indians of the upper lakes during Pontiac's war were expecting an invasion of their country by the English. The conjurer sent his familiar spirit as far eastward as Niagara, and in a few minutes he gave them positive assurance that no army was coming near their country. They afterwards learned that General Bradstreet had made peace with the Western Nations just before that time.

In 1792 an Indian priestess on the Maumee river predicted a victory by the Indians over a part of the American army, then entering their country under the command of General Wayne. The Shawanese warriors received the announcement with the war shout; crossed the Maumee, their tall forms standing erect in their canoes—and in a few days they followed Little Turtle to the field of victory. Having defeated a detachment of Kentuckians, they returned to the Maumee, and rewarded the priestess for her supernatural aid with six blankets and several pounds of tobacco.

All Indians are inclined to believe in the existence of spirits, and think that many persons can hold intercourse with them. They think idiots and insane people more intelligent than they pretend to be, and that they are in some peculiar way in communication with the Great Spirit. This feature in the Indian mind has led to many successful efforts of impostors who have claimed immediate revelations from Heaven. These have all left the Indians more debased and wretched than they were before. An old Wyandot chief said he followed the old religion of the Indians till the prophets arose. He first heard the Seneca prophet, and believed *him*. "Then the Shawanese prophet came, and we followed *him*, till we found he was for war, and we left him. After that we sung and danced and feasted till the war of 1812. Then came whiskey, and murdering and starving. At last the missionary, Steward, came, with the good book." This old chief was the first man to believe the good book. When he was eighty years old he was a more *enlightened Christian*, but not a more *pious* man, than he had been in early life, when he "offered the best he had" to his great Creator. The most celebrated of all the Indian prophets was Loud Voice, the brother of Tecumseh. The history of the mission of the Shawanese reformers is the history of Indian diplomacy, war, and superstition, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, till the downfall of the last Indian confederacy in the death of Tecumseh. It can therefore be but faintly alluded to

now. In their early life they were surrounded by the lowest scenes of savage poverty and wretchedness. In after years they stood in the presence of assembled nations as the *king* and the *prophet* who had come to revive the departing glory of the *first* great American Republic. In their religious capacity the prophet was the more conspicuous character, though in reality he was but the attendant planet of the greater luminary.

The grand scheme for renovating the Indian nations, and restoring them to the happiness which they enjoyed before white men ever troubled them, originated with Tecumseh. He alone possessed all the great qualities of a politician and a warrior; and he found in his cunning and deceitful brother an agent capable of descending to those lower intrigues which were beneath the dignified character the great "King of the woods" maintained throughout his life.

The plan concerted between them was:

"*First.* To oppose the American immigration into their country, and to resist in every possible way the progress of civilization among the Indians.

"*Second.* To reassert the claim of the Indians to the rank of the first created people, and promise Heaven's peculiar favors to all Indians who would unite in maintaining inviolable the rights, the institutions, and the religion of their fathers.

"*Third.* To combine in one 'great belt' of Confederate Republics the Indians of all the frontiers, to resist the encroachments of white men upon a country which the Great Spirit had created for the Indians, and which He had commanded them to keep for ever.

"*Fourth.* In carrying out this plan, they determined to employ all the measures which Pontiac, Little Turtle, and former patriots had tried in uniting the Indians; and, in addition to all these, to bring to bear in the *religion* of their fathers one powerful agency which none of their former leaders had dared to touch."

The details of the operations of the Shawanese prophet must be passed over. He became acquainted with the spiritual doctrines of the Shakers, and incorporated them into his system, and claimed immediate intercourse with the spiritual world—not as a new thing, but as a favor which the Great Spirit had always permitted on important occasions. He had seen the truth of the temperance doctrine taught by Little Turtle, and he grasped this reform as a new element of power. He saw the belief in witchcraft universal among the Indians; he seized upon it with energy, and employed it for all the purposes for which it has been used from the raising of the prophet by the witch of Endor, to the burning of Joan of Arc, and the hanging of women and children in New England.

The Indian belief on the subject of dreams, omens, warnings, and presentiments, has been ever the same as that of nations who had more true and more false light on these subjects. They

have universally admitted the supernatural character of all they could not easily explain. Having little knowledge of the laws of the material universe, they have never been able to draw the line between the reasonable and the impossible. Every aged Indian can relate startling incidents, in which important announcements have been made to him in dreams from the guardian spirits of his tribe. Expeditions of war and embassies of peace have been influenced by a single dream. Brave chieftains, who, like Brutus, defied all earthly danger, have abandoned enterprises at the sight of the "messenger sparrow," and their followers have dispersed in consternation and dismay. They think it honorable to obey the Divine impulse it brings.

The Indian belief in the existence of the Spirit of Evil has been general among all American nations. Thus, the Indians of British America have told of their belief in the existence of an evil, wicked Spirit who caused all the evil in the world. They hated and feared him. They prayed to him to palliate his anger.

The Pottowatomies believed in the same wicked spirit, and thought he tried to do all the injury he could. His place was in the cold regions of the North. They prayed to him to lessen his wrath. The *Good* Spirit was so very benevolent that He would be kind to them whether they prayed to him or not.

The Miami Chief Metea said the existence of a bad spirit was proved by the *existence of evil*. A good spirit could not create evil. There must then be a bad one. His home was in an appropriate place for the abode of all wickedness. It was a region decked not by flowers, fanned not by breezes, cheered not by the sun of heaven.

The Indian view of the doctrine of reconciliation and atonement as held by Christians of some denominations, was thus expressed a hundred years ago: Col. Smith having explained this doctrine to his old Indian brother, the chief studied over it with deep seriousness, and gravely said, "It may be so." He said further, that it did not appear as ridiculous as the doctrine which he had heard from the priests at Detroit. But he was himself too old to change his religion now. He would continue to worship the Great Spirit after the manner of his fathers, and if it was not consistent with the honor of the Great Spirit to receive him in that way, he wished the Good Being to accept him on such terms as were most agreeable to Himself. The old man further said, "It is my earnest and sincere desire to worship the Great Spirit and obey His wishes, and I hope He will overlook such faults as arise from ignorance and weakness, and not from wilful neglect."

To this speech Colonel Smith could make no reply. A few

days afterwards the rain fell heavily and fulfilled all the wishes the chief had expressed in his prayers for health and rain. He now told his comrade that he thought his mode of praying could not be entirely unacceptable to the Great Spirit, as "his prayers had now all been answered."

Let not the Christian be disappointed if many efforts to teach theology to Indians should be unsuccessful. The man who would instruct a thinking heathen, must understand himself. The young clergyman who gave to Red Jacket a long explanation of the doctrine of the atonement, as often taught by religious people, received from the orator of the Senecas only the following reply: "If you white men killed the Son of the Great Spirit, make it up yourselves! *We* had nothing to do with it. If he had come among us we would have treated him better."

The Indian belief of the state of the soul after death is a feature in their theology too strongly marked to be lightly passed over. In the earliest ages of the world the acknowledgment of an existence after death seems to have been universal, and the same general views of the subject have been retained in the world ever since. The belief of the first nations of Europe that "death was but the entrance to another life" was the opinion of the wild savages of America when they had never heard of the Celt or the Goth, and when the message of eternal life, which the Apostles from Jerusalem had conveyed to many lands, remained unknown to them. The real belief of the Indians is, and always has been, that the human soul after it leaves the body is still a *man*, retaining his form, though invisible to eyes yet encumbered with material clay. The state in which they expect to pass the future ages of a higher life is so nearly the same among nations remote from each other, that the origin of all their leading views must have been similar. The earliest known belief of the New England Indians was, that all persons would go immediately after death to a place of rest, where the good were permitted to remain; but the bad were always ordered to walk away to another place to dwell in discontent and darkness for ever. All Indians in every part of the continent have expressed their belief in a future life. No system of infidelity or atheism has ever existed among them. If any expression of such sentiments has ever been heard, it has been received from the influence of white men.

A chief of the Osages said he believed that he would live again after death. He thought the place would be "an old town on the Missouri river." "We shall have bodies," said he, "as we have here; and we shall have plenty of animals to kill, and good hunting-grounds. We shall go to war as we do here. Different nations will have different places assigned them."

This man was eighty years old, and this faith was taught him in his childhood.

The Miamis said they believed the good would go to a place where hunting was good, and the spirits of the wicked would have a separate place, where hunting would be unprofitable and painful. They could not tell the way in which the Master of Life disposed of them after death, as they said "they could not see the soul leaving the body."

The Six Nations of New York said there was "a region of pure spirits, to which the good were conducted immediately after death, from which bad spirits were inflexibly excluded. Near to this blissful place was a gloomy, fathomless gulf, over which the good and brave souls were guided by a good spirit, who could instantly read the real character, and give or deny his aid. The bad persons attempt to cross on a small log or bridge, which, before they reach the middle, trembles, and they fall with horrid shrieks. The place into which they fall is one of perpetual darkness, and they are never free from suffering. Sometimes they approach so near the region of good spirits that they can hear the songs and dances of their former companions, which increases their own distress. The origin of this opinion can nowhere be traced. It is older than history, and older than tradition. It is the glimmering star-light of some ancient faith which the human mind has refused to forget. The human heart, wearied with the trials of life, has grasped at every *appearance* of truth that spoke of a higher existence. These same uninstructed Indians, when asked how they learned this belief, said it was revealed to them by one of their ancestors. He died in the ordinary manner, and travelled to the border of the dark river. He feared to venture on the log bridge, and determined to return to the land of the living. Two days after his death he was seen by his friends. He told them he had seen the river of death, which all must prepare to cross. He had observed the trembling bridge which seemed to promise no safe transit for him; and he had heard the wild music of the drums, at the beat of which the blessed souls were dancing on the great prairie beyond the river. The spirit-warrior passed from the sight of his friends to the border of the shadowy stream, and was seen on earth no more.

The Chippewas said they believed the soul to be an essence distinct from the body. When a man dies the spirit quits the body and goes towards the South, to a happy home on the shore of the great ocean. Before it can enter its future home it meets with a river which it is compelled to cross by walking over on a large serpent, which answers the purpose of a bridge. After reaching the spirit's home, the good spend their time in singing

and dancing, and in feasting on the same food that they preferred here. But the wicked man will suffer perpetual torments from the very same objects which have suffered by his crimes in this life.

When the soul has quitted the body and crossed the dark river of death, it cannot ordinarily return to the present world. But, on some important occasions, they do return to visit the earthly abodes of their friends, to invite them to their own better world. And they sometimes warn their friends of impending death, that they may be prepared to meet it.

It is believed by these people that some souls come to the margin of the dark river, and are deterred from crossing by the serpent, who threatens to devour them. They then return to their former bodies and animate them again as before death. These are the persons who lie in states of lethargy, or trance, perhaps for some days, and afterwards revive. They think animals have souls which differ in some respects from those of man, and that all *useful* things have some spiritual nature which is composed of the same essence.

The Indians believe that it is possible for a spirit which has left its earthly body to pass among those who are yet living, and see and hear what is transpiring among them. In one case it was said that a warrior left his body, which his comrades did not observe to be dead. He passed among them around their camp-fire, and all they did was open to his inspection, and during all of this time his lifeless body was insensible to all external things. When he recovered from his trance he told them all that had transpired. He had walked among them, an invisible spirit, whose presence they had never suspected.

So fully do these people believe in the presence of spirits disengaged from the body, that, when they suspect them to be the souls of enemies, they make loud noises to drive them away. An interpreter entering an Ottowa village found the people making a loud tumult. He was told that a battle had been fought with the Kickapoos; the noise was to prevent the ghosts of the dead from entering the village. Mysterious voices in the air have often been attributed by other people to supernatural causes. "Hark!" said the Celtic poet, "the whirlwind is in the wood! a low murmur is in the vale! it is the mighty army of the dead returning in the air!"

The Chippewas of British America say that immediately after death the soul finds itself on the way to another country. On its journey it reaches a large river, on which it must embark in a stone canoe. A gentle current bears the voyager to an extensive lake, in the centre of which is a beautiful island. Before him now is the great object for which he endured the trials

of life, and faced the perils of death. A greater danger than all is yet to be encountered. When the canoe has arrived within full view of the island, if the person it conveys has been wicked, the vessel sinks, and leaves him up to his chin in the water, there to struggle for ever, in full view of the island, but never able to reach it—an idea which resembles the classic one of Tantalus. But, if the person now passing the ordeal which separates the good from the bad with irresistible certainty has led a good life—if the good deeds have preponderated—then his voyage is a happy one indeed. Borne onward by breezes more favorable than ever wafted a returning mariner to an earthly home, he is landed on shores more beautiful than any earthly paradise. Here his happiness is to be perfect and perpetual. Every pleasure he ever valued in life, every delight of existence, without any of the sorrows of earth, may be enjoyed in endless variety and unceasing duration.

The happy homes of good spirits are painted by the Indian's imagination with all the splendors which the loveliest scenes of nature ever suggested to his mind. Anticipating such a life as this, as soon as the heart shall cease to beat and the eyes close on earthly scenes, it is not strange that the true Indian is invincible in the presence of earthly dangers. It is not strange that we find him ever ready to face death in any form, however terrible. He only anticipates a change from a world of toils and sorrows to one

> "Where bounteous nature only tills
> The willing soil, and o'er whose hills
> And down beside whose shady rills
> The hero roams eternally."

The Indians believe that the spirits of their friends often return to places where they have lived; they visit the homes of their friends, and pass round their own graves. With this view of the condition of the life after death, the living lay food at the graves of the dead to manifest their desire to aid them in their new state of existence. The reason for this practice has not been satisfactorily given. An old Miami chief said he knew no reason for it except that a man once dreamed that an Indian who had died appeared to him and told him he was hungry. This induced the living man to lay food at the grave of his dead friend. The custom is believed to be very ancient, and is followed by the most intelligent as well as the ignorant. Even the chief who could not believe in the resurrection of the body at a future day followed this old Indian usage when his nephew died. An Indian woman who was niece to Little Turtle was present at the death of the youthful Miami. She says the old warrior, Metea, came to look upon the lifeless body, and

said, "He is gone upon a long journey, and you must place food at his grave that he may eat during his journey."

It will not be pretended that the religious opinions of Indians can be reconciled in all points with true philosophy; and much has been told of superstitions in which they never believed. It may indeed be partially true that the Indian's

> "Untutored mind
> Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind."

But it is only in the same sense that the imagination of the poet sees in the golden clouds of the glowing sunset "the floating drapery of those angels who always behold the face of their Father who is in heaven."

The Indian belief on the subject of spiritual existence has always been nearly the same as that of the Celtic nations of Europe. Thus the Highlanders thought the souls of deceased persons continued to visit the places they had loved on earth. Their chief employment was the protection of loved friends yet living, though feasting and hunting furnished enjoyments in great variety. They thought the passions which disturbed their earthly lives were hushed, that "those who once met in battle sat side by side in peaceful pleasures." The Gauls, believing in a speedy reunion with their friends in another life, did not hesitate to die with them, and thus accompany them to the land of souls.

It is well known that the true Indian knows nothing of the fear of death. Logan, the Cayuga Chief, when weeping over his murdered family, said the joy he felt at the return of peace was "not the joy of fear. *Logan never felt fear!* He would not turn on his heel to save his life." In many cases old men who could serve their families no longer have offered to die in place of their sons who were condemned to death. One is represented as saying:

> "These feet no more can chase the deer,
> The glory of this arm is flown—
> Why should the feeble linger here,
> When all the pride of life is gone?"

The Indian wishes his most valued implements for war or hunting buried in the grave with him. He expects to enter at once upon a new life; and his views of the condition in which he will find himself are not sufficiently definite to enable him to anticipate enjoyments very different from those of earth. The warrior, then, who lately roamed the forests, felt safer when he lay down to die in preparing for the same wants in the next life as in this. And when his friends consigned his body to the grave,

> "They laid within his peaceful bed,
> Close by the Indian chieftain's head,
> His bow and arrows—and they said
> That he had found new hunting-grounds."

In the year 1860 an aged chief of the Osage nation visited New York. He received a magnificent Bible from a missionary society. He regarded it as a treasure of inestimable value, and preserved it with the greatest care to the end of his life. But the venerable chief never knew its real value; and when he came to die, the only use made of this splendid copy of the best of all books, was to bury it by the side of his best tomahawk in the grave, that it might perform some better service in the spirit-land.

In 1821 the renowned Jutan, chief of the Ottoes of the Upper Missouri, visited Washington, accompanied by his young and beautiful wife. The Indian woman received much attention, and presents were profusely bestowed upon her. The next year this much loved queen of the prairies died on the plains of Nebraska. The whole nation assumed the garb of sorrow, and the upper half of the face of every man, woman and child was painted black. After the usual days of weeping and lamentation had passed, a deep grave was dug on the hill near the village, and the lifeless queen, with all her treasures, and all the presents she had received at the American Capital, were buried in that deep, cold grave. The chief then ordered his three favorite horses to be suffocated that she might take them with her to the distant happy land, and the American flag was unfurled to the wind, and for many years it was seen waving over her grave. When the Omahaw Chief Blackbird died, he was buried on a hill four hundred feet high. By his own order he was mounted on his best war-horse, that he might enter the spirit-land in a style worthy of the warrior magician, who had sent so many before him.

"They buried the dark chief—they freed
Beside the grave his battle steed—
And swift an arrow cleaved its way
To his stern heart; one piercing neigh
Arose—and on the dead man's plain
The rider grasps his steed again."

At a later time, a man whose name is universally known was buried on the bank of the Des Moines river. Black Hawk, who had said to President Jackson "I am a man, and *you* are another!" was buried in the military uniform which the President had given him. Wearing the war-dress given him by General Jackson, he was seated in a deep grave with the cane in his hand which he had received from Henry Clay. The weapons of war and the trophies of victory were around him. He said the Great Spirit had told him "it was time to sing his death-song." He obeyed with the dignity of a warrior, and died in the faith of his fathers.

It is now two hundred years since the faithful Jesuit, Le Jeune, declared with exultation, that the day which saints and prophets

had waited for was at hand. "The Mohawk," said he, "and the feebler Algonquin shall make their home together; the wolf shall lie down with the lamb, and the little child shall lead them." Ages have passed since that prediction was uttered, and they have borne with them events more wonderful than the ardent mind of the missionary ever painted in its most glowing visions; but the promised glory of the christianized Indian race has not been realized. Few men have ever done as much for any people as Le Jeune did for the Indians. His brethren extended their field of effort to the sources of the Mississippi, and to the Rocky Mountains, and became the confidential advisers of these trusting people. The Indians venerated the men, and learned some of the outward ceremonies of the new faith. At the same time that Eliot was preaching to the Indians of Natick and Concord, the Jesuits were among the wildest savages of the Northwest. Amid the snows of Wisconsin and Minnesota, they slept beneath the bark of trees for blankets, and feasted on Indian corn and "little frogs" gathered from the meadows. The Miamis were so impatient to hear Father Allonez that "they gave him little rest day or night." Marquette said he went forth not as a discoverer, but as God's messenger. He thought his labor not lost if on the prairies of Illinois he could "baptize one dying child." He wore himself out in the service, and died in the act of praying for the Indians on the shore of Lake Michigan. His truthful and pious spirit had taken such a hold on the affections of the confiding Indians that they continued to look up to him as an ascended saint, and many years after his death, when the storms of Lake Michigan swept over the Indian's frail canoe, he has called upon the name of Marquette, and tradition at least has assured us that "the winds ceased and the waves were still."

The ancient faith of the Indians has not been obliterated; civilization and Christianity have progressed slowly among them. It belongs to others to explain the causes of so many failures in the efforts for the elevation of a sinking race. The religion of their fathers had been handed down to them enshrined in venerable traditions, and was sanctified by their own internal consciousness, and their heart's warmest affections. In the same place that heard the voice of Allonez, the first missionary in the far West, and where he died, and left his Bible to be suspended as an amulet from the neck of a savage, a western governor has lately said: "The religion of their fathers is engraved upon the hearts of these aged chiefs, and guides the daily habits of their lives." They know there is *some good* in the religion the missionary asks them to abandon.

But the great obstacle to the progress of the Christian religion

among the Indians has been thus briefly stated: "The conduct of white men has not always furnished evidences of the sincerity of their professions." When the patriot chief of Hispaniola was burning at the stake, a Franciscan priest offered him the joys of heaven if he would embrace the Christian faith. "Are there any Spaniards there?" said the chief. "I will not go to a place where I shall meet with one of that accursed race."

In every part of the American continent the prejudices of the Indians against the education and religion of the white men have been kept up by too many influences to be enumerated here. Unprincipled men have defrauded the children of the forest—they have obtained from them their lands, the money they received from the American government; and, in return, they have given the Indians a few of the comforts and luxuries of civilized life at extravagant prices, and furnished them with the means of intoxication, and left them in a state of greater wretchedness than they had ever seen when the continent was their own, and when no ray of light from the temples or schools of Christendom had ever reached them.

The Shawanese chief told Zeisberger before the Revolution, "the white men were all alike—all bad men, all hypocrites, and all knaves." Thirty years later, when Zinzendorf came, they conspired to take his life. The clergyman who made an address to Red Jacket, and solicited permission to establish a mission among the Senecas, received only this answer from the orator of the Mingoes: "Go and preach to the white people! If you can make *them* honest, if you can make *them* any better, and less disposed to defraud the Indians, you may then come and preach among *my people*." This most celebrated of all the Indian orators knew more of the benefits of Christian civilization than he was willing to acknowledge; but he was an Indian on principle.

The future destiny of the Indian race has become a problem of the highest interest, and that interest is annually increased by each successive experiment by which efforts are made to transform the Indian into the Saxon. The opinion has gone abroad in the world that the mystery of the red man's existence is approaching its solution in the extinction of a race which fades and withers in the presence of a stronger people. This opinion was given by the first Governor of Indiana half a century ago. It has now a thousand advocates. A recent writer has asserted a fact which is now admitted by thousands. "The savages are not *infantile*, but *senile* races," and their tendency is to extinction. "They have no power of imitating the models of their superiors, but where the white man comes they die out."

The world has seen much in its history of the decline of old

and decaying tribes and families. An English chief justice, when engaged in tracing the Earldom of Oxford back to the times of the Conqueror, was startled by the thought that "the history of families and the entailments of property are, like man himself, perishable and fleeting." He asked where were the great names of Mowbray and Mortimer? They had disappeared from history. He asked for one more, that was more than all, and greater than all. "Where is Plantagenet? They are all entombed in the urns and sepulchres of mortality."

A great man once said—

> "I have stood upon Achilles' tomb
> And heard Troy doubted! Time will doubt of Rome."

An event still more wonderful has been seen in our own times. The once venerated gods of ancient Egypt have been torn from their sacred temples, and now stand to be gazed at and insulted in the museums of Britain and America. When Britain was unknown among the nations, and London had no existence, Egypt was the mother of empires.

The march of Time through a period of forty centuries has taught man many serious lessons. The descendants of the wild Scythians of Asia have become, in Britain and America, the ruling intellects of the globe. The Saxon stands unawed in the presence of Memnon, and treats with familiar indifference the deities of a religion which is older than Rome, older than Athens, older than Jerusalem, older than Babylon. And now is it probable that the American Indians, having nearly completed the round of the mysterious cycle of ages, are fast verging towards that precipice over which declining nations fall, to be seen on earth no more?

The philosopher has been witness to the gradual decay of nations who were once formidable in a land that was their own, and has drawn gloomy pictures of the destiny of the remaining tribes. One of the latest has said: "The Indians are not in the first state of development—they are in a secondary, degenerate state; the race bears within itself the germs of an early extinction. Other nations will live when these unblessed children of the New World shall have gone to their rest." "The spectacle of a whole race of men, inhabitants of a large part of the globe, is here before us in a state of living decay. The kindest philanthropy despairs of finding them a home in their native land—a monstrous and tangible drama, such as no fiction of the past has ever presented to our contemplation."* "They

* Dr. Morton observes: "The uniform testimony of all travellers in America goes to show that the aboriginal inhabitants are distinguished by certain physical traits which identify them in regions the most remote from each other; while the resemblance in their moral character, religion, languages and usages, is scarcely less

know and feel," said Mr. Justice Story, that beyond the Mississippi, which is never to be recrossed by them, "there is for them still one remove farther. It is to the general burying-ground of their race."

But the philanthropist is not willing to believe that all the dark forebodings of the philosopher will be realized. A truer civilization and a higher moral and spiritual development are within the reach of the fragments of the shattered tribes, who are now struggling to grasp it. We stop not now to inquire how rapidly the friends of the Indian are accomplishing their objects, nor to suggest measures which might promise more satisfactory results.

The political power of the red chieftains of the forest is at an end. The war-barrier of confederate nations, which was designed "to hold back the great flood of waters from flowing over them," is for ever broken down, and the glory of the aboriginal race has departed. The last of the war-leaders of the Valley of the West has said: "I see the strength of the white men. They are as the leaves of the forest, very many—very strong. The Indians are but few. They are not cowards. They are brave, but they are few. While the Great Spirit above keeps my heart as it now is, I will be the white man's friend. I will remain in peace."

The surviving chief of many a midnight council is still "a stoic of the woods." The warrior of many a battle-field is still "a man without a tear." But his last war-song has been sung, and he has trod for the last time the war-path of the wilderness. He can only say to us now, as the conquered chieftain of the South said when he sued for peace: "Once I could animate my warriors to battle; but I cannot animate the dead. My warriors can no longer hear my voice. Their bones are on all the battle-fields. I can now do no more than weep over the misfortunes of my people." Henceforth we can only say to the Indian, as his fathers to ours in a former century, "May the Great Spirit so brighten the chain of friendship between us that a child may find it, when the Sun is asleep in his wigwam behind the western waters."

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striking. It is true that different tribes occasionally present dissimilar features; but these differences are more obvious in small communities than in collective nations, and it may be assumed as an indisputable fact that no other race of men exhibits so remarkable an analogy through all its subdivisions and amidst every variety of climate. As in Europe all nations, notwithstanding distinct languages, manners, and customs, have somewhat in common, so do all the native Americans present features of resemblance, and a similar base of character." Morton divides the aborigines north and south into two great families. He says: "I have hitherto arranged the numberless indigenous tribes of North and South America into two great families: one of which, the Toltecan, embraces the demi-civilized communities of Mexico, Bogota, and Peru; while the other division includes all the barbarous tribes."—MORTON'S *Crania Americana*. See, also, CONDAMINE, *Trav. S. America*, inedited MS. of.

ART. III.—1. *Plea for Phonetic Spelling.* By J. ELLIS. London. 1849.

2. *Letters on Phonography in London Athenæum*, for February, 1849. By DR. LATHAM.

3. *The Hand-Book of Standard or American Phonography.* In five Parts. By ANDREW J. GRAHAM. New York. 1858.

4. *The Constructive Method of Teaching.* By J. P. KAY SHUTTLEWORTH. London. 1842.

THE great superiority of man over the rest of the animal creation consists in the power of communicating thought by means of speech. At first, when all mankind dwelt together as one family, spoken language was sufficient for all their wants. Afterwards, as the human race was dispersed over the earth, another method of communicating with one another was found necessary. This want was supplied by the use of certain marks or characters, presented to the eye, which we call writing. Pictures were first used by men to convey information to the absent, and to preserve a record of important events that had occurred. This was the only sort of writing known in Mexico when Cortez conquered that country. When the Mexicans sent intelligence to Montezuma of the arrival of the Spaniards, they drew pictures of the men, horses, and cannon which they had seen, and transmitted them to their monarch. The latter understood them, and immediately dispatched an embassy to meet the Spanish commander.

But picture-writing was too imperfect to meet the requirements of men as they advanced in knowledge and civilization. Hieroglyphical characters were next invented; they consisted of symbols which were employed to represent invisible objects on account of some resemblance which they were supposed to bear to these objects. Thus, the eye was the hieroglyphical symbol of knowledge, a circle of eternity which has neither beginning nor end. The next advance in the art of writing was from hieroglyphics to simple arbitrary marks which stood for objects, without having any resemblance or analogy to the object signified. Of this nature are the written characters which are employed by the Chinese; they have no alphabet of letters which compose their words, but every single character which they use in writing indicates an idea: it is a mark which represents some one thing or object. These characters are 70,000 in number, and to write them perfectly is the study of a lifetime.

The name of the inventor and the precise time of the inven-

tion of the alphabet, which is now used by all the civilized nations of the earth, are hid in the darkness of antiquity; it was, however, brought into Greece by Cadmus, who came from Phœnicia, but is supposed to have been a native of Egypt. An invention so valuable and so simple was eagerly received by the Grecians, and spread over the western part of the world. The Roman alphabet, which is used by us and nearly all of the European nations, was derived from the Greek, and modified to adapt it to the genius of the Roman language. This Roman alphabet followed the Roman legions, and was used in all the provinces of the vast empire of the Cæsars.

Though the alphabetical method of writing was a vast improvement over picture-writing and hieroglyphics, still the complex and difficult forms of the letters of the alphabet rendered a briefer and easier system of writing necessary for the rapid transmission of thought, for keeping a record of public transactions, for preserving the eloquent words of the orator, and for saving time and labor. The need of a swift mode of writing had been felt in the time of the Grecian and Roman republics, and several kinds of short-hand were resorted to in order to supply the defects of long-hand.

Diogenes Laertius asserts that Xenophon preserved the sublime discourses of his master, Socrates, by taking them down in short-hand characters. Ennius, a Roman poet, is said to have invented a system of short-hand by which the speeches of the most celebrated orators were recorded. This system was greatly improved by Tyro, a freedman of Cicero, whose alphabet of the art is still in existence. By Tyro's system of short-hand, according to Plutarch, the famous oration of Cato against Cataline was preserved. We learn from Plutarch's Life of Cato that this is the only oration of the latter which is extant. Cicero selected a number of the quickest short-hand writers, and placed them in the senate-house; they made an accurate report of the great speech, and by this successful feat brought short-hand into great repute among the Romans. The poets, philosophers, and emperors patronized and practised the art. We are told by Ovid that Julius Cæsar wrote to his friends in short-hand. In the splendid court of Augustus it was considered one of the most elegant accomplishments. The emperor himself was a proficient in it, and Mecænas, the generous protector of science and literature, suggested several valuable improvements in the art. Seneca, the philosopher, added 5,000 characters to those of Tyro. His additions and improvements were published in order to establish a general and uniform style among the short-hand writers. The emperor, Titus, possessed an extraordinary fondness for this beautiful art, and con-

sidered it not only convenient and useful, but ranked it among the most interesting of his amusements.

Short-hand continued to be held in great favor until the fall of the Roman empire in the fifth century. From this period until the revival of learning in the fourteenth century, we find scarcely any traces of it. In those days the sword was esteemed more honorable than the pen, and outside of the monasteries little or no attention was paid to the cultivation of letters. Early in the fourteenth century Dante produced the Divine Comedy. Next came Petrarch, the elegant scholar and sweet poet, who communicated to his countrymen an ardent love and enthusiasm for the literature of Rome. From this time may be dated the commencement of the revival of literature and the arts, when the admiration for genius and learning became almost idolatry among the people of Italy. The literary glory of Italy culminated under the splendid pontificate of Leo X., whose munificent patronage of poets and artists revived the Augustan age.

From Italy the love of letters spread through Europe. The invention of printing, in 1440, was a mighty agent in effecting this great result. Books were multiplied a thousand-fold, and the poor had now access to those literary treasures which had been hitherto the exclusive luxury of the rich.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth authors began to increase in England, and Spenser, Sidney, Ben Jonson, Bacon, and Shakespeare arose, and filled the world with their genius. The interest manifested in legal and parliamentary affairs multiplied the uses of writing, and called for a more rapid mode than that in ordinary use. The first system of short-hand of which we have any record in modern times was invented by Dr. Bright, and published in 1588. This was an exceedingly crude attempt at brief writing, and was received with little favor. Short-hand, however, continued to attract extraordinary attention in England, and from Bright's attempt down to the establishment of constitutional liberty, no less than thirteen different systems were published.

At this period short-hand was chiefly used by clergymen in writing their sermons, and by students in making extracts from books. To the former it presents advantages which cannot be overestimated. A sermon written in short-hand combines all the attractions of extempore preaching with the accuracy and finish of a written discourse. It was said of Archbishop Sharp that "his knowledge of short-hand contributed not a little to the acceptableness of his delivery, for he so disposed his characters as to take in a *whole sentence* with *one transient glance of the eye*, and so expert was he at this that he has been

sometimes thought to have preached by heart." The celebrated Dr. Chalmers nearly always preached his sermons from short-hand notes, and he did this so skilfully that it was said unless one were near enough to observe the fact, it was difficult to know he was reading. John Wesley kept his diary in short-hand for many years.

This valuable art has always been favorably noticed by the learned. Locke, in his famous treatise on "Education," says: "Short-hand may perhaps be worth the learning, both for dispatch in what men write for their own memory, and concealment of what they would not have be open to every eye." Watts, in his work on the Mind, advises students to acquire a knowledge of short-hand to facilitate their labors. Reading, without making extracts, will produce little fruit; judicious selections save the repeated perusal of entire works, and are a great assistance in literary labors. By employing short-hand in making these extracts, a small library can be collected in one volume, which may be carried in the pocket, and will be found very convenient in travelling. Another advantage which short-hand confers upon students and authors is the rapidity with which it enables them to commit their thoughts to paper. By this means hundreds of valuable ideas which are suggested by the reading of books and the conversation of men may be treasured up for future use, which otherwise would be lost for ever, for want of time to jot them down. All writers on the subject of education recommend composition as indispensable to the student's improvement. It was a wise saying of an ancient philosopher, that whenever he wanted to know anything on a subject *he wrote a book on it.* Jean Paul says, "Nothing can exceed the importance of writing. A man may read for thirty years with less profit than if he wrote for half that period." But perfection in composition is only reached after much and diligent labor; there must be careful revision and frequent alteration; and here, again, short-hand affords abundant facilities to the writer. The irksomeness of long-hand in composition is shown in the following passage from Goethe: "I was so accustomed to repeat and sing to myself, without being able afterwards to recall it, that I sometimes ran to my desk, and did not even allow myself time to put a sheet of paper straight before beginning, but would, without moving from my place, write down an entire composition across the paper diagonally. Even then I preferred using a pencil, as it moved more easily than a pen." What a boon would short-hand have been to such a man!

In 1758 Mr. Angell published a system of short-hand, under

the title of "Stenography, or Short-Hand Improved; being the most compendious and easy method heretofore extant." The author asked the favor of a preface for his work from Dr. Johnson. Johnson's sagacious mind fully appreciated the importance of short-hand to civilized society, and he listened to Angell with much interest. The latter having professed his ability to write, from another's reading, every word that should be uttered, the Doctor reached down a book, and requested Angell to write as he spoke. The experiment was tried, but the stenographer failed to perform what he had undertaken.

The great defect of all these early systems of short-hand was the employment of arbitrary signs to express phrases in frequent use, and the retaining of the insufficient Roman alphabet, instead of adopting one better suited to the requirements of the English language. These defects were remedied, to some extent, by the system which John Byrom invented. Byrom was a poet and a Cambridge scholar, and when quite a young man wrote a pastoral and several essays, which appeared in the *Spectator*. After he had perfected his system of short-hand he commenced teaching it, first in Manchester, his native place, and afterwards in London. His terms were five guineas for each pupil, and he made each of them promise that he would not impart his knowledge to another. Several of his pupils were persons of high rank and great influence.

About the middle of the last century the British government began to employ short-hand writers to report the proceedings of the various committees of both Houses of Parliament. This lucrative and important office has been enjoyed by the Gurney family for more than a hundred years. Ten reporters of great skill and experience form the principal portion of their establishment. These gentlemen are occupied exclusively in taking notes, by which means they have attained a rapidity of writing which is truly marvellous, when it is remembered that the system which they use is one of the most cumbersome in existence. The profits of the Messrs. Gurney are enormous; the gross annual receipts often amount to $750,000; one year the *net profits* were $175,000.

The government short-hand writing, here alluded to, is altogether distinct from the reporting done in the galleries of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, for the morning and evening papers. The amount paid annually by the London journals to their respective corps, for reporting the parliamentary debates, far exceeds that paid by the government for reporting the sittings of the parliamentary committees. Previous to the year 1766, no regular report of the parliamentary

debates was permitted by the government, and, consequently, the splendid speeches of Somers, Halifax, Walpole, and Pelham have all perished, except a few fragments. Dr. Johnson was employed for several years, by the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to compose the parliamentary speeches which were published in that journal. Cave, the proprietor of the magazine, was acquainted with the doorkeepers of the House of Commons. He and the persons employed under him gained admission, and brought away the subject of discussion, the names of the speakers, the side they defended, the order in which they arose, together with notes of the arguments advanced in the course of debate. The whole was afterwards communicated to Johnson, who, from the materials furnished, prepared the speeches as they appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The eloquence, force of argument, and splendor of diction displayed in many of these speeches were universally admired. In this manner several of Chatham's speeches, which have been applauded as unparalleled specimens of eloquence, were written by Johnson in a London garret.

In 1766, Mr. Almon commenced publishing brief reports of some of the important proceedings of the House of Commons, but these reports are very imperfect as historical records. No facilities were offered reporters for taking notes; they were not even allowed the use of pencil and paper, and all the notes had to be taken by stealth. For many years these restrictions have been removed, and the reporters are now provided with a spacious gallery and every convenience, in both Houses of Parliament.

Several distinguished literary men have occupied positions as reporters in Parliament, and among others, William Hazlitt, the eminent critic and essayist, and Charles Dickens, the world-renowned novelist. The latter is described by his former associates as having been one of the most skilful and accurate reporters that ever sat in the gallery. The readers of *David Copperfield* will remember the amusing account given of the hero's attempt to learn short-hand, taken, no doubt, from the author's own experience. William H. Russell, the well-known correspondent of the London *Times*, was a short-hand reporter. J. P. Collier, the industrious Shakespearean scholar, speaks most favorably of short-hand: "My father taught me at an early age the use of abbreviated characters, and I hardly know any species of instruction that, in after life, has stood me in greater stead. Knowing the great advantage of short-hand, I say this with a view to induce fathers of families to have their children taught short-hand, with as much diligence as

they are now instructed in any other branch of knowledge. Let the simplest and clearest system of the art be ascertained, and we may soon make this mode of recording thoughts compete with the rapidity of railroads, and almost with the lightning of the telegraph."

The proceedings of the American Congress were very imperfectly reported before the time of Mr. Joseph Gales, senior, the father of the late Mr. Gales of the *National Intelligencer*. He was the first who made a report of the congressional debates which appeared in the paper the next day. This was considered a most astonishing feat at the time. His son, Joseph Gales, was also a reporter, and one of the best, in his day, that the country could boast. He first became connected with the *National Intelligencer* as reporter in October, 1807; he was then just twenty-one years old. He and the present Mr. Seaton afterwards were the proprietors of the paper. They were both the reporters and editors of the *Intelligencer*—one of them devoted himself to the Senate, and the other to the House of Representatives. As a general thing, they published only running reports—on special occasions, however, the speeches and proceedings were given entire. The peculiar talents of these gentlemen were duly appreciated, and they had seats of honor assigned them beside the presiding officers. To these enterprising and accomplished reporters we are indebted for many of those splendid specimens of eloquence which adorn the political literature of our country. The speeches made by Webster and Hayne, during their celebrated intellectual combat in the U. S. Senate, were preserved from oblivion by Mr. Gales, whose notes, handsomely bound, and enriched with Mr. Webster's annotations, are kept as a precious memento in the family library. The following anecdote may perhaps be read with some interest in this connection. The day Mr. Webster made his reply to the attack of Mr. Hayne, of South Carolina, Joseph Gales met him as he was going to the Capitol, and inquired how long he intended to speak. "About half an hour," was the reply. The editor's duties at that time were pressing, but he ventured to take so much time from them. Mr. Webster, however, directly after was joined by Judge Story, who said that he thought the time had come for Mr. Webster to give the country his views on the Constitution. To this proposition the Senator assented. Mr. Gales took up his pencil unaware of this new arrangement, and alike unconscious of the lapse of time under the enchantment of the orator, he continued to write until the close of the speech. But, when he came to look at the notes, the magni-

tude of the task that it would be to write them out appeared so formidable, that he shrunk from it as an impossibility. Soon after Mr. Webster called on Mr. Gales, and requested a report of his speech. "I have the notes," said the reporter, "but I shall never have time to write them out." This led to some remonstrance and persuasion, but the overworked editor stood firm. At this juncture Mrs. Gales came forward, and offered to undertake the task, saying that she could decipher her husband's short-hand, as she had occasionally done so. She had heard the speech, and the resistless sweep of its argument, and the gorgeous magnificence of its imagery, were yet vivid in her mind. In the course of a week Mr. Gales submitted to Mr. Webster the report of his speech in the handwriting of his wife. Scarcely a word needed to be changed; and soon a set of diamonds, costing a thousand dollars, accompanied the rich thanks of the eloquent statesman. Thus was saved to literature the most memorable oration of the American Senate.

The year 1837 was an important era in the history of short-hand, for in that year appeared the first edition of Phonography. Phonography was invented by Isaac Pitman, of England, and is unquestionably the best, easiest, and most philosophical system of short-hand that ever came from the brain of man. It is nearly as superior to stenography as the latter is to long-hand. The old systems of short-hand were so full of perplexing and arbitrary characters and complicated contractions, that it took years of intense and unceasing study to acquire a proficiency in any of them, and even then it was not possible to make a *verbatim* report of any except the most moderate speakers. Isaac Pitman had studied one of the best systems of stenography for seven years, and could write only one hundred words a minute.

And, unless it were written with the utmost care, stenography was as difficult to read as the characters inscribed on the tombs found in the pyramids of Egypt. Phonography, on the contrary, is simple, and easily learned; and it enables the reporter to secure a perfectly legible report of the language of the fastest speakers. The two most rapid speakers in America average one hundred and fifty words a minute. Mr. W. Blair Lord has frequently made *verbatim* reports of their sermons—taking down every word that fell from their lips. Mr. Lord, previous to acquiring a knowledge of phonography, had spent several years in learning a system of stenography; but, finding it impossible to make a satisfactory report by means of it, he abandoned it in despair.

The vast superiority of phonography over all the other systems of short-hand is proved by the fact that it has banished

all the rest from the field. Phonography is now used almost exclusively by the reporters in Congress, and in Parliament, for taking *verbatim* reports of the proceedings. A short-hand, to be a good one, should be easy to write and easy to read. Such is phonography—a child, who can read the common print, can very readily acquire a knowledge of it. Phonography may be *written six times as fast as long*, and is more legible. Parents should have their children taught this useful and beautiful art. A wise Grecian, when asked what boys should be taught, answered, "That which they will have to practise when they become men." Dr. Johnson said, "The usefulness of short-hand is not confined to any particular science or profession, but is universal." It has been observed by competent judges, that phonography is the best means of acquiring an accurate pronunciation of English, and also of foreign languages. As a training for the mind, the study of phonography offers advantages quite equal to mathematics. It is the custom in some colleges to make the students learn a number of Latin lines by heart, as a means of improving the memory; if phonography were substituted for these lines, the memory would receive a greater benefit, and a valuable art be acquired, which would be found useful in every situation of life. The time is fast approaching when "an education that does not embrace a knowledge of phonography will be considered as incomplete, and short of the wants of the age." To every one whose pursuits in life call upon him to record incidents and thoughts, (and whose do not in this age and country ?) phonography is one of the great labor and time saving inventions of the age.

The lawyer, who, in the course of his studies, is obliged to make frequent and lengthy extracts, should hail with delight a system of writing so well calculated to lessen his excessive toil. He will also find it extremely serviceable in the court-room, for the purpose of taking notes of the testimony, the decisions and rulings of the judge, and in other professional duties, such as rough sketching briefs, wills, agreements, and business papers of every description. To clergymen phonography is of peculiar value, as it enables their hand to keep pace with their thoughts, and saves five-sixths of the manual labor of long-hand. Ministers who employ short-hand in writing their sermons say they can read it with greater ease than long-hand. To students, whose days and nights are passed in accumulating knowledge, in gathering the choicest flowers in the garden of literature, and in making notes of important and interesting events, phonography offers facilities which should not be neglected. It has been the habit of many studious men, both in ancient and modern times, to read with pen in hand, to be

ready to note down any particular fact or gem of thought which seemed to them worthy of preservation. Brutus, the night before the battle of Pharsalia, which was to decide his earthly fate, was found in his tent reading a favorite author and taking notes. Pliny the elder never travelled without books and conveniences for making memoranda. The elegant Addison had collected six volumes of extracts before he began the *Spectator*. Southey, one of the first scholars of his age, kept a commonplace book, in which he wrote choice extracts from whatever books he perused. The great obstacle to this transcribing from books is the vast amount of time and labor which it involves. This may be obviated by the use of phonography. In reading the newspapers and magazines we often meet with a suggestive thought or striking fact, which, unless recorded at the time, passes away for ever. The accomplished scholar, William Wirt, says: "There is not a fact within the whole circle of human observation, nor even a fugitive anecdote that you read in a newspaper, or hear in conversation, that will not come in play some time or other, and occasions will arise when they will involuntarily present their dim shadows in the train of your thinking and reasoning as belonging to that train, *and you will regret that you cannot recall them more distinctly.*" Authors who are acquainted with phonography prize it as one of their most valuable acquisitions. By using it in their literary compositions the drudgery of writing is, in a great measure, removed. What a great assistance would not short-hand have been to Sir Walter Scott, in gathering materials for his enchanting romances; or to our lamented historian, Prescott, in preparing his magnificent works! Thomas H. Benton said, when presented with a *verbatim* report of one of his masterly speeches, taken by a little boy, "Had phonography been known forty years ago, it would have saved me twenty years of hard labor."

Phonography is used by many persons in their correspondence, in keeping a diary, in book-keeping, in making memoranda, &c. Thousands who look with the utmost indifference upon phonography, are daily enjoying the benefits of it. If they have the satisfaction of reading in the morning paper a full report of the proceedings of a public meeting held the night before—together with the eloquent words of the speakers, as they fell fresh and glowing from their lips—they owe it to phonography. If they have an opportunity, in interesting and important trials, of examining the evidence and reading the speeches of the counsel and the charges of the judge, they owe it to phonography. If new ardor be added to their patriotism by the thrilling appeals of Clay or the sublime eloquence

of Webster, they owe it to short-hand. If their hearts are melted by reading the tender and persuasive language of the preacher, they owe it to phonography. In short, they are indebted to phonography for the clear and full reports of scientific and literary associations, the anniversaries of religious societies, the proceedings of Congress, and for all "those brilliant and spirit-stirring effusions which the circumstances of the present times combine to draw forth, and which the press transmits to us with such astonishing celerity, warm from the lips and instinct with the soul of the speaker."

A writer on the subject of short-hand says: "Were the operations of those who are professionally engaged in exercising this art to be suspended but for a single week, a blank would be left in the political and judicial history of our country; an impulse would be wanting to the public mind, and the nation would be taught to feel and acknowledge the important purpose it answers in the great business of life."

When we consider the wonderful advances which short-hand has made in the last few years, may we not reasonably suppose that the time is not far distant when this beautiful and philosophical method of writing will become universal, and the age which has witnessed the triumph of the telegraph and the steam-engine will abandon a style of writing which was thought cumbersome in the time of the Cæsars?*

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* It will be remembered that active and persevering efforts were made a few years since, both in England and in this country, to abolish the existing system of spelling altogether, and substitute the phonetic in its stead. Nor has the project been abandoned yet. We refer to the past rather than to the present; because, in our opinion, the new method had more advocates three or four years ago than it has now; in other words, because we think the attempted "reform" has proved a failure. Not but it has had the support of distinguished names. Thus, for example, Dr. Latham, one of the most learned English philologists of the present day, after having mentioned the different objects of the existing system in one of his letters to the *Athenæum*, goes on to observe: "Each of the three functions is incompatible with a true notion of the real office of an alphabet. This is to *represent* the language to which it belongs, taking it as it is, and attempting no secondary or subordinary effects. To talk of this being a *written* language and a *spoken* language, is to talk of there being two sorts of men, real and painted; or men in the flesh and blood, and men in pictures. There is but one *reality;* the duplicate is merely a *representation*. This representation may be good or bad; *i. e.*, an alphabet may represent a language, just as a portrait may represent a face, well, indifferently, or not at all. To insure its doing the first, it should be made to keep to the representation alone; to insure its doing the third, it should be made to represent and do something more. And this is what is done in English."

The Doctor then proceeds to recount the advantages of the new system; but before we make any comment, we will add the views of one or two others who have devoted ample attention to the subject. "What the invention of printing was to the middle ages," says Mr. Ellis, "the introduction of phonetic spelling will be to the present day. This is the great, the noble, the holy cause in which we are engaged." This is bold and confident language; but Mr. Ellis does not confine himself to general remarks. He mentions a large proportion of the English population who can neither read nor write, because *'it is as yet impossible to tell the sound of any English word from its spelling, or the spelling of any English word from its sound.* Till this difficulty is removed, *the education of the poor is physically impossible.* * * Phonetic spelling will remove all difficulty, by enabling any one who can

ART. IV.—1. *The Moállakát; or, Seven Arabian Poems which were suspended on the Temple of Mecca: with a Translation and Arguments.* By SIR WILLIAM JONES. 4to. London. 1782.

2. *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en Espagña, Sacada de varios Manuscritos y Memorias Arabigas.* Por el DOCTOR DON JOSÉ ANTONIO CONDE, DEL GREMIO Y CLAUSTRO DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE ALCALA; Individuo de numero de la Academia Española, y de la Historia, su Anticuario y Bibliotecario; de la Sociedad Matritense; y Corresponsal de la Academia de Berlin. Madrid. 1820–1. 3 tom. 4to.

3. *Histoire de la Domination des Arabes et des Maures en Espagne et en Portugal, depuis l'Invasion de ces Peuples jusqu'à leur Expulsion définitive; redigée sur l'Histoire traduite de l'Arabe en Espagnol, de* M. JOSEPH CONDE, Membre de plusieurs Sociétés Savantes, Bibliothecaire de l'Escurial, de l'Academie d'Histoire, &c. Par M. DE MARLÉS. Paris. 1825. 3 tom. 8vo.

4. *Chrestomathie Arabe, ou Extraits de divers Ecrivains Arabes, tant en prose qu'en vers; avec une Traduction, et des Notes, à l'Usage des élèves de l'Ecole Royal et Speciale des Langues Orientales vivantes. Seconde Édition, corrigée et augmentée.* Par M. LE BARON SILVESTRE DE SACY. 3 tom. 8vo. Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1826, 1827.

5. *Disertacion historica sobre los Archivos de España y su antiguedad, con algunas reglas para su coordinacion.* Por DON FRANCISCO DE PORRAS HUIDOBRO. Madrid. 1830.

IT was a favorite precept with Confucius, that if we are not grateful to those who give us instruction, we ought, at least, to speak of them with respect. But such is the eccentricity of human nature, that debtors of all kinds are more likely to hate their creditors than to love them. This is particularly

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speak, to read English with ease in a month. * * Hetericism (the present system) renders the task of learning to read hateful, unpleasant, and slow. Phoneticism renders it delightful to teacher and learner, and rapid of performance."—(*Plea for Phonetic Spelling*, pp. 75–6.) Mr. Graham, of New York, author of the *Hand-Book, or Standard of American Phonography*, is, if possible, still more enthusiastic in his advocacy of the new system. "Phonotypy," he says, "not only offers benefits to future generations who may adopt it, but as an educational instrument, it is now capable of saving at least one-half of the time, money, and labor now devoted to the acquisition of the art of reading by the common orthography."—P. 33.

To the superiority of phonography over any other system of short-hand for the purpose of taking notes rapidly, or reporting speeches, we readily assent: there are very few acquainted with the subject who question the fact any longer. The best reporters of Europe and America have adopted the phonetic system; but to use it in all kinds of writing is quite another matter. That there are a great many letters—both vowels and consonants—in the English language which would give no idea of the sounds of the words in which they are used, is very true. There is not one of the consonants, or even of the vowels, which is not occasionally silent, or if not exactly silent, at least superfluous, so far as pronunciation is concerned; but the instances in which either can be said to be useless for all purposes are very few. It must be borne in mind that in no language are letters used for the

true when the parties have changed their relative positions. A debtor grown rich does not like to admit that he owes his wealth to a creditor grown poor. The same observation applies to nationalities and civilizations. Thus it is that the European mind is so little disposed to acknowledge its indebtedness to the Asiatic mind. Nor is this unwillingness confined to those whose education is limited; our most liberal historians do not give the Arabians credit for one-tenth the amount of valuable knowledge which they were the first to teach us. A different course is pursued towards the Greeks and Romans; partly because our indebtedness to them could not be denied, and partly because both nationalities were great and glorious even in their fall. Far be it from us to assert that the Arabian intellect has produced as rich fruits as either the Grecian or Roman intellect; or that our civilization is as much indebted to the former as to the latter. We mean nothing of the kind. But to no other people do we owe so much as we do to the Arabs—certainly not to our own ancestors—not to the Goths, Anglo-Saxons, Celts, or Normans. No unprejudiced person acquainted with the subject will deny this. Yet how few among us take the least interest in the language or literature of Arabia! Independently of all feeling of gratitude, a different course should be pursued. Had we never

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exclusive purpose of *sound;* although Dr. Latham is of the contrary opinion. In the most perfect of human dialects—both in the Greek and in the Sanscrit—they are used for etymological purposes, as a means of forming a standard, and as a distinction for the eye between words having the same sound. No language is so universal in its use as the French; and no language has a greater number of letters that have no sound in certain situations.

The great mistake on the part of the advocates of the new system is, that they do not recognize the difference between spoken and written language. Dr. Latham ridicules the idea that there is any difference. It is the same, he says, as to talk of "men in the flesh and blood, and men in pictures." This he would have us believe is a very absurd thing; but we think it will be seen, on a little reflection, that it is nothing of the kind. To use the Doctor's own terms, it may be said that the written language is a picture of the spoken language—a picture in which, as long as it exists—though for thousands of years, nothing but *sound* is lost. The finest portrait gives us no idea of the peculiar mental powers—the *sense* of the original; although the marble speak, it cannot show the operations of the mind. But can the same be said of written language? The most learned philologist can give us nothing more definite or more satisfactory than conjectures as to the manner in which the ancient Hindoos, the Greeks, or the Romans pronounced their words; but is the literature of any of the three the less valuable to us on this account? Do we lose the benefit of a single thought of Plato, Demosthenes, Cicero, or Virgil, because we do not know whether he pronounced his vowels and consonants as we do? Dr. Latham and his followers forget that there are different written languages, whose prose and poetry are nearly as unlike each other as if they belonged to different dialects. Nor need we go to an ancient language for an illustration. Let the student of Italian literature compare its poetry to its prose, and observe the difference. We repeat, then, that while we yield to none in our appreciation of phonographic shorthand as a means of reporting, taking extracts, and in various ways lightening the labors of the student, we would no more supersede the present system of orthography, for the purpose of adopting the phonetic system, than we would destroy a *chef d'œuvre* of painting or sculpture, because it would take more time and trouble to study its peculiar beauties, than another performance of a kindred character, but got up on the "cheap and ready" plan.—Ed.

borrowed an idea from the Arabs, it would have been worth our while to make ourselves acquainted with their literature for its own sake.

We do not mean that every intelligent person should study the Arabic language; although it certainly ought to be studied a hundred-fold more than it is. If only half the Arabic works translated into English were read, it would be needless for us to write the present article; there would be no need for argument to prove that the study of Arabian literature possesses many charms. But not one out of ten is ever spoken of. The best are known only in a false garb. That is, their contents are appropriated without the slightest acknowledgment. True, the incidents are transposed—the plagiarist takes all the pains he deems necessary to conceal his theft; but in doing so he mars the best passages. Even in this state there is many an Arabian tale in our language which is the delight of youth and age—a much greater number than the most intelligent and candid reader would be willing to believe. It would be foreign to our purpose on the present occasion to point out instances, since it is not our habit to make assertions without proof. To do justice to the subject would require not only a whole article, but a series of articles; for those most willing to believe the truth would require some evidence before they believed that this or that beautiful tale which they had always regarded as original in their own language, is but a garbled translation from an Arabic manuscript of the fifteenth or sixteenth century. Without further preface, therefore, we proceed to make such observations on the language and literature of Arabia as seem to us best calculated to give a correct view of the principal characteristics of both.

Although we know no language whose growth has been so slow as the Arabic, it attained its highest perfection at the commencement of the seventh century, long before any of the modern languages of Europe was anything more than a meagre *patois*. It would be a great mistake, however, to suppose that this slowness was caused by any lack of mental or physical activity on the part of the Arabs. At no period of their history, prior to the close of the seventeenth century, could any such charge have been made against them; on the contrary, no race of ancient or modern times are more distinguished for the opposite qualities. But, to this day, it can hardly be said that they have ever been conquered. At times, indeed, they have been forced to yield to superior forces, but only until they had time to recruit their strength. Even this temporary subjection did not occur except when they were taken by surprise, as in the instances of the Abyssinians, Persians,

Turks, and Romans. Nor was it complete even then; only a very small portion of Arabia owned the sway of the stranger. As the historian remarks, "The body of the nation has escaped the yoke of the most powerful monarchies. The arms of Sesostris and Cyrus, of Pompey and Trajan, could never achieve the conquest of Arabia. The present sovereign of the Turks may exercise a shadow of jurisdiction, but his pride is reduced to solicit the friendship of a people whom it is dangerous to provoke and fruitless to attack."* This sufficiently explains the characteristic purity of the Arabic language. No nation, however powerful, was able to introduce its language, for the briefest period, amongst the Arabs. Even the haughty Romans were forced to learn Arabic, in order to govern the small province which allowed Trajan to exercise a nominal jurisdiction until he attempted to interfere with the ancient laws and customs of the country.† If only on account of the independence thus maintained by this singular people, from the remotest antiquity up to our own time, every lover of freedom should feel an interest in their destiny. With the Arabians the love of liberty is a passion—one of the most prominent traits in their character, and one which pervades every department of their literature.

There is a general impression among a class not at all deficient in intelligence that the Arabic is a comparatively modern tongue. Doubtless the error has arisen from the fact that we hear little of it that dates farther back than the time of the conquest of Spain by the Moors. It is forgotten that Arabic literature had attained a high degree of development centuries previously, and that Arabic books were in as much demand throughout the East, especially in Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, and the central provinces of Hindostan, as French books are at the present day in the principal countries of Europe and America. Not that the Arabic language was then extensively known at Constantinople, Ispahan, Cabul, or Hyderabad; we

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* *Decline and Fall of R. Empire*, by Gibbon, vol. v., p. 83.

† Napoleon, who had conquered all Europe from the Tagus to the Vistula, and from Berlin to Naples, utterly failed to subjugate the Arabians; although he left no means untried to accomplish his purpose. He did not scruple even to pretend that he was a Mohammedan like themselves. We have this fact on the authority of one of his own countrymen. It is to the proclamation of Napoleon that M. De Sacy alludes where he says in the preface of his *Chrestomathie Arabe:* "In this second edition will be found a piece important for the history of this expedition (into Egypt), *but which prudence compelled me to suppress in the first edition.*" The following extract will give a sufficient idea of the character of the "piece" alluded to:

"Peuples d'Egypte, on vous dira que je viens pour détruire votre réligion: ne le croyez pas: répondez que je viens vous restituer vos droits, punir les usurpateurs, et que je respecte, plus que les Mamloucs, Dieu, son Prophète et l'Alcoran.—Kadhis, scheïkhs, imams, tchorhadjis, dites au peuple que nous sommes aussi de vrais Musulmans. N'est ce pas nous qui avons detruit le Pape, qui disait qu'il fallait faire la guerre aux Musulmans," &c.

have no evidence that it was the *lingua franca* of those countries; but the beautiful tales and poems written in it were translated with avidity by the Persians, Turks, &c. As to the history of its improvement, it is lost in remote antiquity. If not as old as the Greek, it is certainly older than the Latin. Before the foundation of Rome was laid—before Romulus or Remus was born—the Arabic language was spoken with purity, if not with elegance, at least in that part of the country now known as the Kingdom of Yemen. In common with all other members of the Semetic family of languages, the Arabic rejects all compound words; it possesses to no extent the power of modifying the signification of words by means of particles, like most European languages, ancient as well as modern. But it must not be supposed that it is defective on this account; perhaps no other language, whether Asiatic or European, is more expressive. In copiousness it is not surpassed even by the Sanscrit, to which, however, it has scarcely any resemblance. Instead of particles, it abounds in regular forms, which, according to a fixed analogy, modify every part of speech.

As might be expected, there are several dialects of the Arabic; but the two principal are the northern and southern. The former has been the classic, or standard, language of the empire for centuries, and is that in which nine-tenths of the literary and scientific works of the Arabs are written. In recent times it has degenerated, like the Greek and other classic languages. In its altered form it is still spoken, not only in Arabia, but throughout Northern Africa, and in several of the states of Western Asia, while it constitutes an important part of the Turkish, Persian, and other Oriental languages. Very little is known in the west of what is called the southern dialect. Some think it is identical with the ancient Carthaginian, while others assert that it is the parent language of the Ethiopian and several other dialects of Southern Africa. The former view is rendered at least plausible by the fact that the Arabic characters are of Syrian origin. As a proof of their appropriateness as the representatives of Oriental sounds, it may be observed that they have been adopted, with some slight modifications, by the Persians and Turks.

We have said that the character of the Arabic has been greatly influenced by the perpetual independence of the people. To this we may add that it has also been greatly influenced by the warlike spirit of the people; for the Arabs were as ready to invade and conquer other countries as they were to repel invaders and conquerors from their own. This is sufficiently exhibited in the history of almost every nation of Europe, Asia,

and Africa. With the sole exception of the Romans, no other people can point to a more brilliant series of conquests. Thus, among the nations conquered by them were Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey, Spain, Sicily, &c. Among the great cities captured by them were Damascus, Jerusalem, Memphis, Babylon, Alexandria, Constantinople, &c. It is not strange that a people who have been thus active and fond of adventure—who once threatened to reduce all Europe, as well as Asia and Africa, to their sway—should possess a rich and copious language, and an interesting and instructive literature; for, although they have always been scrupulously careful to exclude all foreign words, the most thoughtless could not visit so many countries, behold such a variety of landscapes, and experience the influence of such a variety of climates, without adding largely to their stock of ideas; and new ideas will readily find new forms of speech to express them. Hence it is that the Arabic combines within itself the figurative idioms of almost all the principal languages of Europe and Asia—especially of the Spanish, the Italian, the Turkish, and the Persian. We do not mean that the Arabic has borrowed from the Spanish or Italian; the reverse is the fact. But there are numerous metaphors suggested by local scenery and local habits and customs which are common to the Arabic and the Spanish; and then another class which are common to the Arabic and the Italian —or rather, to the Arabic and the Sicilian dialect.

Apart from these advantages, the Arabian sovereigns have always distinguished themselves by their encouragement of literature and literary men. So early as the beginning of the sixth century, an academy was established at Ocadh, whose duty it was to examine all compositions presented by candidates for fame, and have the best transcribed in characters of gold, on Egyptian paper, and hung up in the temple of Mecca. Several of these are yet extant. We have now before us the seven translated by Sir William Jones, whose title stands at the head of our article. All these had been written before the time of Mahomet—a fact which considerably enhances their value, as they give an interesting insight into the habits, customs, and modes of thought of that remarkable people prior to their adoption of Islamism. The *Seven Poems* consist principally of eclogues of a dramatic cast, in regular metres, embracing all the circumstances of an Arab's life. Each is interspersed with brief love-scenes, as episodes; indeed, we find more of the passion of love in them than any other feature. It is interesting to compare recent poems to them on this account; for those before us show that it is not natural to the Arabs to treat their women as inferiors. We see that they did not do so until

they were enjoined it by Mahomet. In each of the Seven Poems the women are treated as the companions and equals of the men—not as they are treated in the Koran. The author of the first was of the royal blood of one of the tribes. The poem opens while he is on a journey, attended by a company of friends; passing the place where his mistress formerly dwelt, Amriolkais stops on the now deserted spot and exclaims—

"Stay! Let us weep while memory tries to trace
The long-lost fair one's sand-girt dwelling-place;
Though the rude winds have swept the sandy plain,
Still some faint traces of that spot remain.
My comrades reined their coursers by my side,
And yield not, yield not to despair, they cried.
(Tears were my sole reply; yet what avail
Tears shed on sands, or sighs upon the gale?)
The same thy fortune and thy tears the same,
When bright Howaira and Rebaba came
To say farewell, on Mósel's swelling brow,
And left thee mourning, as thou mournest now!
Think ye, ah! think ye, I forget the day
That tore those damsels from my soul away,
Who breathed a farewell, as they left these bowers,
Sweet as an eastern gale on fields of flowers?"

This is followed by a lively, interesting sketch of the poet's adventures, especially his courtship with Fatima, which is succeeded by an amour with a girl of a tribe at war with his own. His description of her abduction is at once graphic and poetical; but it is too long for our space. We must content ourselves with transcribing the concluding lines, which will serve as a specimen of the sort of imagery characteristic of Arabic love-poems. Having passed the chief danger, the poet proceeds:

"A plain we reached beyond the cloud of night,
Whose sandy hillocks hid our onward flight
Safe from the foeman. By her waving hair
To my fond heart I drew the trembling fair:
Raptured I gazed upon her polished crest,
Smooth as a mirror set within her breast,
Or like an ostrich-egg of pearly white,
Left in the sand and half exposed to sight.
The timid maiden turned away her face,
With eyes averted shunned my rude embrace,
Raised her arched neck in conscious virtue's pride,
Then like the wild fawn gazed from side to side.
Her jet black tresses down her shoulders strayed
Like clustering dates amidst the palm-trees' shade."

In the same poem there are as fine descriptions of natural scenery as are to be met with in any literature. When relating his own perilous adventures by day and night, in desert and wild wood, by land and water, the poet has opportunities of contemplating Nature in her most sublime aspects; nor does he fail to avail himself of them. His description of a thunderstorm in the desert is truly grand. It is, however, too long for our limits, and a fragment would give no adequate idea

of its beauty and sublimity as a whole. He describes night within narrower bounds, as follows:

"Oft did the night her misty horrors roll,
Like ocean's billows, o'er my anxious soul,
And as her form, without or pause or haste,
In sullen grandeur stalked the sandy waste,
I cried—To morning yield thy hated sway,
Yet safety comes not with the coming day;
Then, night, rule on, while hid the stars remain,
Chain'd to the rocks that bound thy vast domain."

The *Poem of Lebeid* is, perhaps, the most beautiful of the collection; and it is said to have been written when the author was one hundred and forty-five years of age. Although the latter fact is attested by the historians of Spain and Persia, as well as of Arabia, the probability is that some exaggeration has been indulged in; doubtless fifty years, if not more, have been added to his real age. That he exceeded the ordinary bounds of human life may be inferred from the following lines, which would do no discredit to the highest order of European intellect:

"Time in his lengthened chain of years has bound
Our mortal race, nor e'er his conqueror found;
I've seen him pass by day, I've seen by night,
And still unchanged, return with morning's light.
Time, like Lebeid,* grows older every day,
But waxes stronger while I waste away."

We have already alluded to the intense patriotism of the Arabians, observing that in prominence and universality it is second only to the passion of love, as an element of their poetry. As a specimen, we transcribe a few lines from the translation of Sir William Jones:

"Ours is the world, and all its riches ours;
None dare resist us, 'midst all Asia's powers;
None dare control—if any vainly try
To chain our freedom, from the yoke we fly;
One chief we own, and when that chieftain's son
Swears to maintain the name his sire has won,
In such frank fealty as becomes the free,
We bend, and make the nations bend the knee.
Still will we pour our warriors o'er the plain,
And still our ships shall rule the boundless main."

Those who examine the earlier poems of the Arabians will no longer think it strange that the use of wine and all kinds of intoxicating liquors is so strongly prohibited in the Koran. There is scarcely an Arabian tale, in prose or poetry, written before the time of Mahomet, that has reached our era, which does not contain more or less evidence of the demoralization caused by intemperance not only in Arabia, but in all those countries that have adopted the religion of Islam. Neither Anacreon, nor Burns, nor Moore, nor any other European

* The poet himself.

poet, ancient or modern, has written with more rapture of the pleasures of wine than Tarapa, one of the seven poets whose productions we are thus parenthetically considering. We make room for a brief specimen only, premising that it is by no means the most eulogistic or most passionate within our reach:

"If death be near me, let me quaff the bowl,
That none to-morrow mourn a thirsty soul.
The same dark mansions, by an equal fate,
The noble spirit and the mean await;
Their mother earth, impartial, seals their doom,
And one broad stone protects their common tomb.
Death, the all-conquering, seizes on the bold,
His proudest prey—then claims the miser's gold.
Though short my life, I've seen the age of man
Dwindling, still dwindling, in its narrow span:
The camel-riders, when they lose the rein,
With firmer grasp the loosened cord retain;
So, though he spare them for a little space,
Death holds dominion over all our race.
Let me then quaff the goblets while I live,
Nor die unconscious of the joys they give."

We can only make room for one extract more from the *Seven Poems*, and this must be brief. Zohair, like Lebeid, wrote his principal poem in his old age. Although, as he informs us himself, he was more than four-score when he commenced it, no production of his time opens in a strain more warmly amatory. Its main object, however, is to panegyrize Hareth and Harem, two chiefs who, by a singular act of generosity, had succeeded in healing a deadly feud that had long existed between their own and a rival tribe. After having first eulogized his mistress, according to the habit of the time, he passes on to the good qualities of the peacemakers, and describes in glowing and graphic language the evils which they had averted from the country. Few poets of any age or country have given a truer picture of the miseries of war; although the fact will not be sufficiently evident from the few lines which we can make room for.

"War is a monster of the foulest mien—
All know her hideous form, for all have seen.
Though for a while you drive her from the plain,
Still will you rouse her, and she'll rage again.
War, at one birth, who ne'er had borne before,
Famine and twin-born desolation bore;
Their cruel mother wean'd them from their birth,
And sent to feed upon the ravaged earth."

Brief as these extracts are, we must be still briefer in giving specimens of the prose literature of Arabia. Of the old Arabic works none are needed; who of our readers, for example, have any occasion for specimens of works like the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, which for centuries have been the delight of all nations that have any appreciation of the humorous, romantic, and instructive in literature? These wonderful

tales alone ought to be sufficient to attract attention to the literature of Arabia. But even in modern times the Arabians have produced excellent works. This is true, for example, of the "New Arabian Tales,"* translated into French by J. J. Marcel, and of a work entitled "Practical Philosophy of the Mohammedans,"† translated into English by W. F. Thompson, Esq. There are many others we could mention, but we must confine our observations to these. Not that they are the best we could select, but the nearest at hand. Those who examine the story of Ratif, in the former, will easily understand that the genius even of Cervantes and Le Sage was inspired by Arabian Tales. In Ratif, we recognize the counterpart of Gil Blas. The resemblance between the character of Abd-al-Néjum, the astrologer, Ratif's master, and the famous Dr. Sangrado, the master of Gil Blas, is sufficiently obvious. Omitting a large and interesting part of Ratif's narrative, we come to that where his master dies, and he finds himself under the necessity of exercising his own talents in the same field, in order to procure his daily bread. Even Cervantes has few passages which contain more genuine humor than the following; and it is all we can make room for on the present occasion:

"I lived with him very miserably for twelve years; when I asked him for instructions, he said that nature herself had forbidden me to become an astronomer. Every day he repeated that the stars promised him great wealth and length of life; but nevertheless, I found him one morning dead in his bed, and conformably to his promises, I was his sole heir. The inheritance, however, was only some few articles of furniture and his mathematical instruments. The owner of the house soon gave me notice to quit; I made a little money by the sale of the furniture, and carefully preserving the astronomical instruments of my deceased master, I sought another lodging.

"I obtained it in the house of an old woman who lodged in the suburbs, to whom I had sold some pieces of paper covered with figures, on which my master had written his scientific calculations, which she purchased as talismans, to increase the fertility of her pigeons and keep them from vermin. I had no difficulty in persuading her that I had inherited the knowledge as well as the instruments of my old master, and her neighbors of both sexes flocked to obtain the aid of my astrological talents. All my master's old papers on which he had scribbled figures were successively sold as talismans.

"Finding this new trade very successful, I resolved, like Abd-al-Néjum, to draw horoscopes, and predict future events from the stars. I had picked up from his conversation the names of some of the constellations, but I did not know what was their position in the sky; however, I hoped that I would easily acquire this knowledge by making use of the instrument. In vain I tried in every way to imitate what I had so often seen my master do, but somehow or other, I

* Contes Arabes du Cheikh-al-Mohdy. † Akhlak-i-Jalady.

could never distinctly see through the telescope the stars that my master saw, or perhaps only pretended to see. I have always thought that he designedly injured the instruments before his death, for fear lest the fame of my science might eclipse his own. . . . . My reputation increased every day, and unfortunately for me, it extended too far. My fame reached the governor of the city. He was about to become a father, and summoned me to draw the horoscope of an unborn child. I went boldly, pretended to make some observations, drew some whimsical figures, made idle calculations, and unhesitatingly declared that he would soon be the father of a boy. I did not know that my employer had brought at a great expense another astronomer from Antakzeh, (Antioch.) He was posted in another part of the house, and announced that the child would be a girl. They brought us together, that we might compare our different horoscopes. I could make nothing of my adversary's scheme; he easily demonstrated that mine was composed only of figures drawn at random, calculations either absurd or insignificant, and marks that had no connection or relation. For want of good argument, I overwhelmed my adversary with reproaches, and he retorted as well as he could. From words we were about to come to blows, when we received a piece of news which put an end to our quarrel. The woman who had been summoned to attend the lady announced that she was not pregnant, but dropsical."

"Practical Philosophy of the Mohammedans" is, as the name implies, a production of quite another kind. But the gravest and most profound works of the Arabians are relieved by lively and instructive anecdotes—example goes hand in hand with precept. This is well illustrated by a passage in the chapter "On the Duties of a Wife," in Mr. Thompson's translation. We transcribe it here, as at once characteristic of Arabian literature, and of the gossipping tendency, jealousy, and resentment of woman. The relator of the story is the Oriental Chapone, or Meiners:

"'We are told,' he says, 'in history, that Hajaz had a chamberlain, with whom, having been long acquainted, he was on very familiar terms. In the course of conversation, he happened one day to remark that no secrets should be communicated, and no confidence given to a woman. The chamberlain observed that he had a very prudent and affectionate wife, in whom he placed the utmost confidence, because, by repeated experiment, he had assured himself of her conduct, and now considered her the treasurer of all his fortunes.' 'The thing is repugnant to reason,' said Hajaz, 'and I will show you that it is.' On this he bade them bring him a thousand dinárs in a bag, which he sealed up with his own signet, and delivered it to the chamberlain; telling him the money was his, but he was to keep it under seal, take it home, and tell his wife he had stolen it for her from the royal treasury. Soon after, Hajaz made him a further present of a handmaiden, whom he likewise brought home with him. 'Pray oblige me,' said his wife, 'by selling this handmaiden.' The chamberlain asked how it was possible for him to sell what the king had given. At this the wife grew angry, and coming in the middle of the night to the door of the palace where Hajaz resided, desired it might be told him that

the wife of the Chamberlain Such-a-one requested an audience. On obtaining access to the king, and after going through the preliminary compliments and protestations, she represented that long as her husband had been attached to the royal household—bondsman as he was to his majesty's favor, he had yet been perfidious enough to peculate upon the privy purse, an offence which her own sense of gratitude could not allow her to conceal. With this she produced the money-bag, saying it was the same her husband had stolen, and there was the prince's seal to prove it. The chamberlain was summoned, and soon made his appearance. 'This prudent, affectionate wife of yours,' said Hajaz, 'has brought me your hidden deposit, and were I not privy to the fact, your head would fly from your shoulders for the boys to play with, and the horses to trample under foot.'"—Pp. 26–27.

A lesson of a different kind is taught in another extract which we have selected. It is from the chapter "On the Government of Kingdoms and Observances of Kings;" and its object is to illustrate the influence of philosophy on the most powerful princes.

"We are told that Hasân, the Bowide, who in his day possessed the sovereignty of Herat, and was conspicuous above all the princes of his age for attachment to men of learning and wisdom, undertook a holy war with the Roman empire. In the outset of the contest, victory sided with the army of the faith, and the infidels were completely defeated. On this the Romans raised a *levée en masse*, and concentrating their forces from all the outposts, again offered battle to the army of the faith. These were then obliged to give way, and some of them were so unfortunate as to be made prisoners. When the king took his seat to examine the captives, there proved to be one among them from Herat, named Abú Nasar. On ascertaining this, the king said he would intrust him with a message which he was to carry to his emperor. Abú Nasar answered that he would do his bidding. 'Then tell Hasan,' the Bowide,' said the king, 'that I left Constantinople with the purpose of devastating Irâk. Now, however, that I have inquired concerning his character and situation, it is clear to me that the star of his prosperity has yet to reach the zenith of its completeness, and is still in the ascendant of its fortunes. For one whose star was sinking in the void of extinction, and the twilight of supineness and evanition, would never have about his person men of such high attainments and noted excellence as Ibu Abíd, Abú Jaafar, the treasurer, Aly bin Kâsim, and Abú Aly Yashâghy. The assemblage of such a galaxy in attendance on him is sufficient proof of the firmness of his fortunes, and the further improvement of his position and renown. For this reason I leave his dominions unmolested.'"—P. 391.

The first impression Europeans had of the Arabs was, that they were the enemies of science and literature, as well as of religion and morality. It must be confessed that their conduct was but too well calculated to excite such a prejudice against them. But they destroyed libraries and magnificent works of art which they did not find it convenient to carry away; not because they had no appreciation of intellectual productions;

but because as invaders and enemies they thought themselves justified by the laws of war in doing all the mischief they could. That this was no mere excuse is sufficiently proved by the fact that no sooner did they find their empire firmly established than they set to work with all the ardor and enthusiasm characteristic of them, not only to repair as far as possible all the harm their arms had done, but to found new literary and scientific institutions in every province that had been reduced to their sway. Haroun al Raschid, who reigned from 786 to 809, was the first to commence the good work. This excellent prince never remained more than a month at his capital, except when compelled to do so by illness. He was constantly engaged in making tours through all parts of his dominions; and he never undertook a journey without taking with him at least a hundred of the most learned men of his time. His son, Al Mamoun, evinced, if possible, still more zeal in the protection and encouragement of letters. Bagdad, his capital, was more like an immense academy than the seat of government of the most warlike empire of his time. He made no distinction as to the religion of the learned and gifted; even laxity of morals was excused on their part, while others were severely punished for it. The tribute most agreeable to him from the conquered provinces were books, manuscripts, specimens of sculpture, painting, &c. As the manuscripts and papers thus obtained were in all languages that possessed a literature, it was indispensable to have a large number of learned men to examine them, so that all found to be possessed of any value might be translated into Arabic. In order to set a good example to his subjects, the Caliph devoted himself assiduously to the study both of the sciences and the languages, at the same time establishing schools, academies, and colleges in all parts of the empire. The exemplary conduct of these two sovereigns will give the reader an idea how the masters of the country of the Magi and the Chaldeans of Egypt and Asia Minor, the first great storehouses of human knowledge and science, seemed to unite in themselves the advantages of all the nations which they had subjugated.

Nor were the Moorish sovereigns of Spain less zealous in promoting the cause of education and encouraging literature and science. Indeed, there is nothing good, except true religion, which they did not encourage. Of this we have abundant proof. Several of the Caliphs of Spain may be ranked among the greatest patrons of learning of ancient or modern times. Al Mamoun did not exert himself more earnestly and perseveringly in the good work than did Al Hakem, who reigned at Cordova about the year 336 of the Hegira, (A. D.

976.) Abn-al-Abar, of Valentia, one of the most eminent and reliable of all the Arabian historians, speaks of him as follows, in his biographies of illustrious men, entitled "Book of Supplement to the Book of the Gift:" "This prince was extremely fond of letters, and during the life of the king, Abd-ar-Rahmân, his father, all his time was occupied in assembling in his house the wisest men in Cordova, and in conversing with them upon literature, discussing historical points, criticising impartially the works of the day, and giving premiums to those who most distinguished themselves in poetry, in mathematics, or in medicine. His knowledge was so vast that it embraced every subject and every science; and no book fell into his hands, how difficult and abstract soever it might have been, that did not come from them adorned with valuable notes and commentaries. When, after the death of his father, he took the administration of the empire, the serious occupation of government did not prevent him from cultivating science, and being one of its most passionate lovers. Several poems of this monarch are still preserved. His favorite passion was that of acquiring rare books of arts and sciences, elegant collections of poetry, and all kinds of works upon geography and history. No trouble or expense was spared by him to bring from the principal towns of Syria, Africa, and Egypt, the works newly published by their learned inhabitants." The historian here proceeds to point out the results which he accomplished, sustaining his assertions with various authorities. Had he been a contemporary of the prince whom he thus celebrates, it might have been suspected that he was actuated by selfish motives; at best it might have been supposed that his language was that of friendship and gratitude, rather than of impartial biography or criticism; but he was not born for nearly three centuries after the death of Al Hakem.

It was not alone men devoted to science and literature who were learned in his time; perhaps at no other period did the female mind attain a higher degree of culture. Several instances of women distinguished for their learning are given by the historian; and his statements on the subject are fully corroborated by Christian writers. Our principals of "Female Colleges" and "Female Universities" who speak of their performances as if ladies had never been educated before their time, would do well to bear in mind the following passage, or some passage like it; for if it had no better effect, it would save them from the ridicule which their arrogant and silly pretensions subject them to. "The king had in his palace," says Abn-al-Abar, "a young female slave named Lubria, who, be-

sides being skilful in grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, and other sciences, composed very good verses, and wrote with singular beauty and elegance the different characters of the Arabic language; a reason why Al Hakem employed her as his secretary for his private correspondence. Fatima,* daughter of Lacarîa-al-Khablarî, a servant of the royal household, wrote with the greatest perfection, and was continually occupied in copying out books for the king. Ayesha,† daughter of Ahned ben Mohammed ben Kâdîm, of Cordova, was reckoned the most learned woman of her age, and to use the words of Ibn Hayân, she was beautiful like a rising moon, fine and slender like a young aloe bending its head to the south breezes; if she ran, she looked like the antelope disappointing the sportsman by her rapid flight; and if occupied in study or meditation, her eyes resembled the soft and melting eyes of the gazelle, looking from the top of a rock upon the burning sands of the desert. . . All the learned of her time admired her poetical compositions; she wrote different *casîdas* in honor of the princes of her time, and made a beautiful collection of books upon all sciences." This prince was the first who founded a library worthy of the name in Europe, after the fall of the Roman Empire. So early as the close of the ninth century this library, containing, as it did, upwards of 60,000 volumes, had become famous throughout the civilized world.‡ The catalogue, which extended to 44 folio volumes, contained the full titles of the works, the names of the authors, the place of their abode, the year of their birth and that of their death.

But the skeptical may ask, Where are the fruits of so much labor? What has the world gained by the laborious zeal of the Caliphs in behalf of literature and science? Had it not been for the deep-rooted prejudices against everything Arabic which the invasions and conquests of the Arabs excited throughout Europe—especially those of the impostor Mahomet —such questions would have seemed ridiculous, as indeed well they might. As it is, they do not seem at all unreasonable,

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* فاطمة بنت زكريا الخبلري

† عيشة بنت احمد بن محمد بن قاديم القرطبي

‡ There is an Arabic work in the Escurial entitled the "Literary Index," by Abon Bekr Mohammed ben Kheir ben Khalâfa, (خير بن خليفة الاندلسي ابو بكر محمّد بن) an Andalusian, which was written A. D. 1311, (year 712 of the Hegira,) in which there is a full and interesting account of the several public libraries which the Moors had established in Spain.

since, as we have already remarked, the most liberal and candid historians have found it prudent to conceal what the Arabs have done for European civilization. We will, however, mention, in passing, a few of the boons which they have conferred upon us; although we are aware that some will think we indulge in Eastern hyperbole while stating simple facts, which no one, who has investigated the subject, would venture to deny.

It is in the department of science and the useful arts we are most indebted to the Arabians; although the influence of their beautiful fairy tales pervades the literature of every country in Europe. The best naturalists anterior to the time of Cuvier and Buffon were the Arabians; they were also the best botanists, the best chemists, the best geographers, the best mathematicians. So far as history informs us, they were the first to apply chemistry to the purposes of agriculture, and to several other useful arts in which it is now so extensively practised. Medical works written in Arabic from the eighth to the eleventh century have not been surpassed to the present day.* If they borrowed their system of mathematics from the Hindoos or Chaldeans, they imparted to the science a degree of simplicity which it had never possessed before. In this, as in many other respects, they were the French of their time; for what they did not invent or discover themselves they were sure to improve upon when invented or discovered by others. They simplified the trigonometry of the Egyptians and Greeks; and if they did not invent algebra, certain it is that they applied it to processes in which it had never been used before. Indeed, the general opinion among the most thorough investigators is, that it is to them alone we are indebted for that science. The preponderance of evidence is certainly in favor of the Arabian claim; even the name, *algebra*, is pure Arabic—the original signification of the term being, *a concise system of calculation*. Be this as it may, none can deny that it was the Arabs who in-

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* Mohammed ben Abd-Allah, Secretary of the King of Greneda, Ben Abon l'Hajâj, wrote several works on medicine, rhetoric, music, history, biography, and civil jurisprudence, which are still preserved in the famous library of the Escurial. Those that attract most attention are "Biographies in Eleven Books with a Supplement," (الطبقات في الاحاطة احدي عشر جزأ مع ذيل) "History of the Kings of Greneda of the Dynasty of the Beni Nasar," (اللمحة البدرية في الدولة النصرية) and "A Complete History of Greneda," (الاحاطة في تاريخ غرناطة).

troduced the decimal system into arithmetic; and it is equally well authenticated that the numerals now used in all parts of the world are the invention of the Arabs, although some of the enemies of the latter give the credit of them to the Hindoos. Those splendid tournaments which were the delight of Italy and France, as well as of Spain and Portugal, throughout the age of chivalry, and which formed the themes of so many fine poems, were of Arabian origin. Even the invention of gunpowder can be traced to the Arabs through their own scientific treatises; although a German, a Frenchman, and an Italian have in turn claimed to be the original inventor. The Arabians were not the first to make paper; the art of manufacturing it from silk had been practised by the Chinese for thousands of years. But the Arabians were the first to substitute cotton for silk in making it; they did so as early as 649 A. D. It is now beyond question that there was a flourishing paper manufactory at Samarcand at the period mentioned, about year 30 of the Hegira. But nearly six centuries had elapsed before the art was introduced into Europe. The Spaniards were the first Europeans who attempted to manufacture the article. Paper-mills were established throughout the Peninsula at the close of the thirteenth century; but nearly another century had elapsed before the art was known in any other European country. Encyclopædias were also an Arabian invention—so were rhyming and pronouncing dictionaries. Marcus Paulus, a Venetian, who lived in the middle of the thirteenth century, gets the credit in most school-books of having been the inventor of the mariner's compass; whereas it is well known by students of Oriental history that it had been used by the Arabians six centuries previously. They may have brought it from China, as they had brought the art of manufacturing paper; it is sufficient for our purpose that they were the first who introduced it into Europe; and the same remark will apply to various other inventions and discoveries, the credit of which we give to our own people—adducing them as unanswerable arguments in proof of the wonderful progress which we ourselves, above all other nations, have made in science and art, since our ancestors ceased to paint their naked bodies!

It is well to remember that the Arabians, as well as ourselves, had an opportunity of availing themselves of Greek and Roman culture; and that they did so accordingly to the fullest extent. Many a Greek work that has never appeared in an English translation has been faithfully rendered into Arabic. So great was the progress made in this direction, that at the commencement of the ninth century the Arabians were familiar with the philosophy, mathematics, medicine, and

natural history of the Greeks, having translations of Plato, Aristotle, Thucydides, Hippocrates, Galen, Theophrastus, Ptolemy, and Euclid; in short, of all the great productions of the Greek intellect, save its poetry alone. Critics have been puzzling their brains for five centuries past to account for this strange omission. They have assigned various reasons for it, but the most plausible is, that the mythology of the Greeks is so mixed up with their poetry, as to render it an abomination in the eyes of the rigid Moslem. True, the same objection may be made to Greek philosophy, though not to the same extent. There is certainly as much mythology in the works of Plato and Aristotle, as there is in those of Sophocles, Euripides, Sappho, or Demosthenes; but these philosophers have ever been favorites with the Arabians; while the orators or the poets, not excepting Homer, have made but little impression on the Arabian mind.

It is a great mistake to suppose that religious prejudices prevented enlightened Europeans—those who had already profited by Greek and Roman civilization—to avail themselves of the scientific and literary treasures of the Arabians. None were more ready to learn whatever they could from the strangers than the monks, who went from all parts of Europe to their schools. Gerbert, who afterwards ascended the papal chair as Silvester the Second, used to say that knowledge was no heresy, let its source be what it may. In proof of his sincerity, he studied at Seville, under Arabian professors, and became one of the most famous scholars of his time. Adelard,* Gerard of Cremona, and many other members of Catholic fraternities, followed his example; and far from being punished for having done so, each obtained a high position in the Church. Cardinal Ximines is said by some writers to have been very bigoted; but he received the principal part of his education from Arabian tutors. Nor was he ungrateful for the advantages thus gained. When the Moors were most unpopular, or rather most detested, in Spain, the cardinal did all in his power to protect them from violence and injury. During the eleven years that he held the office of Grand Inquisitor, they suffered less than at any corresponding period. Yet even he destroyed 5,000 Arabic volumes. We mention this alleged fact in order to give an idea of the ravages committed by less humane, and less intelligent men—such, for instance, as Zegri, who is said to have destroyed 150,000

* It was the same Adelard, an English monk, who first translated the Elements of Euclid from the Arabic into Latin; and it was Robert, of Rutland, another monk, who made the first translation of the Koran in the middle of the twelfth century.

volumes.* When such was the course pursued towards all Arabic works supposed to have any tincture of Mohammedanism, is it strange that when Philip II. founded the library of the Escurial, he was unable to collect for it more than 300 Arabic manuscripts?†

But those in the habit of sneering at Arabian literature as mere "Oriental bombast," because they know nothing about it, would hardly believe that the best German and French critics—men who have devoted their lives to the study—are of opinion that there exists a close analogy between the Grecian and Arabian mind. "The processes of development, to be genuine," says an eminent philologist, "must be voluntarily, or rather spontaneously conducted. Where mental relations are formed, and mental systems transferred, priority must subsist, in order to make them applicable; and in the instance of Greeks and Arabs, *we trace them in the resemblance of their early national traits.* The predatory habits and generous cast of feeling—the government fluctuating between the paternal and fraternal forms—the national independence maintained for ages in defiance of the great powers by whom they were successively assailed—the prevalence of the imaginative, the traditional and the mysterious—the airy kingdoms of antediluvian beings—the swarms of genii retreating from the visible creation and the face of lordly man, only to lead a more congenial existence in the hidden powers and principles of nature—the hosts of heavenly messengers ever on the wing to comfort or admonish an erring but still favored race—the tribes of birds and animals softening and hallowing the course of life by the moral lessons fabulously associated with their habits and appearances—*these, the primitive characteristics of either people*, require only a little adjustment of races and instances, *in order to be at once identified with a counterpart in the other.* As if to maintain the analogy after, as well as before the point of social organization, corresponding to the Eleusinian mysteries of the Greeks, we have the Súfyism of the Mohammedans,

* But it is not the less true that of the specimens of Arabic literature now extant, nine-tenths are possessed by the monks of various orders. The library of the Vatican at Rome contains, perhaps, one-fourth of the whole—certainly one-fourth of the best—probably more than is to be found at the present day in any city of Arabia, Persia, or Turkey. To this we may add, that so far as we are aware, the best Arabic collection in this country is to be found at the Jesuit College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Mass.; whose library also contains the most complete editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, and of the Fathers of the Church, which it has been our privilege to examine anywhere.

† Soon after, however, he got ten times that number; but not in Spain or Europe. Admiral De Lara captured two Moorish vessels in 1611, near Salee, containing the Emperor of Morocco's library, including 7,800 separate MSS. As if to illustrate the adage that ill-gotten goods seldom prosper, nearly half of these plundered treasures were destroyed half a century after, by the fire which burnt down the library of the Escurial.

a transcript probably of the same doctrine concealed by a phraseology which rendered the secret little less impenetrable than the imposing mechanism of the mystagogues. The transfusion of from one to the other of these people, was the *introduction of nothing but formulæ and processes*. The rudiment —the element—the embryo—was there ungiven; ready in the one case as in the other, on the application of the requisite means, to unfold itself into progressive maturity." We might fill pages with the briefest extracts from the most learned and reliable authorities, bearing testimony to the same facts. But without any such analogy between the Arabian and Greek intellect, there are many reasons why we should take a deep interest in Arabian literature: "The mere rivalry," says Mr. Thompson, "so long and closely maintained by the Moslems, not so much with ourselves as with all the western nations, ought to be sufficient to bespeak our interest and attention, even if there were nothing else in their previous history or internal condition to attract our attention. From the eighth to the sixteenth century, the contest seemed to threaten the liberties of Europe. The Turkish and Egyptian dynasties mere outposts of the great body of Islam—were able at different periods to baffle the united forces of Christendom; and while Europeans consoled themselves with imputing to their adversaries a social barbarism and vitiation inconsistent with their political power, they tacitly denied the flattering apology by borrowing that scholastic literature, which, however worthless as an end, was valuable enough as a means to *raise the borrowers to their present state of mental and physical superiority*. Of a people once so distinguished in the opposite achievements of arts and arms, are the laws and habits of action to be counted among the contemptible phenomena of history? Look at their results as compared with those of other institutions, even (at one time) our own. Are they worthy of authentic elucidation and remark?*" In comparing the state of philosophy in Europe with that of Asia in past times, the same investigator very justly observes: "Of late years, it has been a favorite position with those who know not how to explain by any more modest or humane theory the social degradation of the Asiatic people, to attribute to it some radical error in their scientific systems; in other words, to a want of average capacity in the inhabitants of that half of the globe to which the supposers do not happen to belong. The consequences they adduce are worthy of the liberality of their premises, that Asiatic learning must be extirpated, root and

* *Practical Philosophy of the Mohammedans, Introduction*, pp. xvi., xvii.

branch, and replaced by that of Europe. Now with such a treatise as the present in our hands, we might be excused, perhaps, if we overlooked the fallacy on which the conclusion proceeds, and choose to retort the charge of incapacity on the opposite side. Here, we might say, is a work of the fifteenth century, displaying a knowledge of the nature, and an enthusiasm in the cause of virtue, which will render it a delightful and improving study as long as duty and inclination continue to control the world. *What European work of the same era as richly laden, as widely known, and as long surviving, will you venture to weigh against it?* Political convulsions cut short the flattering promises of further improvement; but as long as the opportunity was given, where will we find a richer harvest?"* This is the spirit in which all liberal-minded men who have investigated the subject render tardy justice to the Arabian intellect.

It was not science and literature alone the Arabians introduced into Europe. We owe the noblest order of chivalry and gallantry since the time of Pericles to the same wonderful race. That principle of honor which still distinguishes the Spaniard from all other Europeans is essentially Arabic. The high respect for woman in modern civilization which a certain class of ethnologists are so fond of referring to a Teutonic origin came from the same prolific source; a fact which admits of abundant proof. We note one representative instance, in passing, of the highest order of gallantry combined with chivalrous bravery. When Berergere, the wife of Alphonso VIII. of Castile, was defending Toledo against the Moors in 1139, she appeared on the ramparts and reproached them as cowards, who preferred besieging a woman to the glory of meeting the king's forces at the walls of Oreja. They, too gallant to despise the censures of a lady whom they could easily have captured, marched off without striking a blow, celebrating her beauty and her virtue. The songs and romances of the Troubadours, also borrowed from the Moors, were the first vehicles of that delicacy of sentiment which is the most honorable distinction of modern civilization.

But what have the Arabians received in turn for the invaluable contributions they have thus made in every form to European civilization? No people have ever been worse treated. The cruelties of which the Moors in Spain have been the victims make one's blood run cold, even after the lapse of so many centuries. Not only were they expelled, but robbed, deprived of their children in numerous cases, murdered in cold blood,

* *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

without regard for age or sex. No history, either Arabian or Spanish, gives so correct an idea, in an equal space, of the habitual oppression to which they were subjected for centuries, as the appeals to the king of their advocates, on their behalf. Thus, Louis del Marnol Carvajal tells us that in the reign of Philip II. the Moors employed their countryman, Franciso Nuñez Muley, a person of high rank among them, in the hope of receiving some mitigation of the severity exercised towards them. He represented that

"When the Granadans were converted, they were not required to change their language nor their dress, nor their natural modes of recreation: their conversion had been made by force, and in breach of treaty; but it was not accompanied with any such violence to their civil usages. The dress of the women was not as Moors and Mohammedans, but as Granadans; *it was provincial, not religious;* but it would be an act of ruinous hardship to make them change it; their ordinary garments were inexpensive; a woman might be clad for the cost of a ducat, but the robes which she wore at weddings and festivals were carefully kept for such occasions, and went down from generation to generation; these were costly in their fashion and materials, but because of their fashion, consisting of facings and trimmings, they could not be converted into any other form: in these, and in their ornaments of the Morisco fashion, they had been accustomed to invest the money which they had saved; and were this law enforced, the loss which it would bring upon them might be calculated at not less than three millions, and the revenue also would suffer in no trifling degree when consumption of silk and gold and pearls should be thus reduced. The men already all wore the Castilian habit: persons in authority had repeatedly said that those who did so should be favored; but no such favor had been found: *if but a knife were found upon any one, he was sent to the galleys, and his whole property consumed in exactions and bribes and mulcts.* The civil and ecclesiastical authorities equally persecuted them; and yet they had ever been obedient and loyal. Though the ink of the capitulation was not dry before those capitulations were violated, they had been the first people in Spain who took arms in the royal cause against the rebellious commons. *Why should their music and dancing be prohibited, which in nowise related to Mohammedanism?* Why the use of henna, which was employed *not more for ornament than for its astringent properties,* and which was found especially wholesome in keeping the head clean? D. Fraz Guevara, the Bishop of Guadix, had formerly forbidden the practice, but the President and Auditors and the Marquis of Mondejar had interposed, and told him that this fashion had nothing to do with faith. They were ordered *to leave their doors open;* what was this but to expose their women to insults, and their property to thieves? The baths were to be destroyed, but bathing was for health and cleanliness, not for a religious observance. *Spaniards as well as Moriscoes needed the baths;* if the practice had formerly been forbidden in Castile, it was lest men should be relaxed by it, and rendered unfit for war; but the Moriscoes were not required to fight. *Their women were now forbidden to go abroad with their faces covered;* but this was a custom which had been introduced for the

sake of modesty, of public morals, and of convenience;* and how were ugly women to meet with husbands if all faces were exposed? The king had rendered it penal for any Spaniard to uncover a Moriscoe's face;—why, then, should this be treated as a matter of religion now? With regard to names, families were distinguished by them; and *why should their ancestors be thus put out of remembrance*, whose appellations it was for the honor of the Spaniards to preserve, were it only for the same reason that the Catholic king and the emperor had ordered the Alhambra and other places to be kept up, as monuments of their conquest? It was desirable, he admitted, that there should be no *Gacis* (African Moors) in the land; but edicts for expelling them had never been executed, nor could they be without wrong, for most of these people were naturalized here, and had children and grandchildren born and settled in the land: it would, therefore, be against conscience to eject them. Nor was it more reasonable to decree that the Moriscoes should not be allowed to have negro slaves; for who was to serve else? or were they all to be made equal? Lastly, he touched upon the greatest hardship of all, which was that of *requiring them, in the course of three years, wholly to disuse their mother-tongue.* How difficult a thing was this! They all wished to speak Castilian if they could; but how were poor people to acquire this in lonely places among the mountains, where they had never acquired the Aljamia or mixed Arabic of the country, but spoke dialects of their own,—so that by an Alpuxarreño's speech, it might be known to what district in the mountains he belonged. There was not a lower or viler race upon the earth than the negroes of Guinea; and yet they were allowed to retain their country dances, and their national music, and their own speech. *Why were the Moriscoes to be treated more rigorously than these?* Nuñez Muley concluded by protesting that his intentions in thus pleading for his countrymen were pure and undissembled. 'I have,' said he, 'always endeavored to serve God, and our lord the king, and this crown, and this nation, and this kingdom; I am bound to do this by my birth, and for more than sixty years I have been employed on all such occasions to solicit their cause.'"—*Hist. de la Dom. de los Arabses*, &c., vol. ii., pp. 301–3.

Appeals of this kind show, as we have said, that the Moors must have suffered cruelly; but neither advocate nor historian of the time dared to paint the picture in its darker and more revolting shades. At the same time we must give no more blame to any party than the circumstances justify. It is too much the habit of sectarian writers to make the Church of Rome responsible for all that was bad in the treatment of the Moors; but the facts do not justify any such charge. Even the Arabian historians admit that the persecution of their countrymen was much more political and ethnological than relig-

* The habit still prevails to a great extent throughout Spain, like most other habits introduced by the Moors. The best moralists are of opinion that if the women of France, England and America would veil themselves much more than they do, religion and morality would be much less outraged than they are. A similar remark will apply to the baths introduced by the Moors. Our Gothic ancestors had no idea of the sanitary value of ablutions. Even now public baths are far too scarce throughout Christendom. It is only of late that even the wealthy and intelligent have learned to realize the force of the adage that "cleanliness is next to godliness."

ious. However much they disliked the Christian religion, they have the candor to admit that none did more to relieve the sufferers than Catholic prelates. It is but fair that we should remember, besides, that when the Moors had the power they did much to provoke the severities to which they were afterwards subjected; although not until they had degenerated themselves. No conquerors could have been more gentle than they were for centuries after they had established their power in Spain. We have shown already that they did much more to ameliorate the condition of the people than to oppress them.

But a great change had taken place long before their expulsion; for it was they who began the work of persecution. This is kept out of sight by sectarian writers; so that the impression they leave on their readers is, that while the Moors behaved themselves like lambs, they were treated like wolves by the church. But the cause of truth, which is the only interest we have to subserve in this discussion, requires that the other side of the case should not be entirely passed over. We cannot do more on the present occasion, however, than to glance at some of the more prominent facts; but those who wish to satisfy themselves on the subject have only to extend their researches.

We will here note a few instances of persecution on the part of the Moors, which are fully attested by Arabic historians. One of the first public acts of Abderahman II. was to sign the death-warrant of two Christians, who were executed at Cordova for no other crime than that they had professed the Christian faith, in opposition to the Mohammedan. Soon after, some Moors questioned a Catholic priest, named Perfectus, in regard to his religion, at the same time asking his opinion of theirs, and assuring him that he would be allowed full liberty in the expression of his views. He took them at their word, and told them that his honest conviction was that their Prophet was an impostor. Both Eulogius and Speraindeo tell us that for having been thus frank he was dragged before the Cadi, who immediately committed him to prison, there to remain, in chains, until the end of Ramadan, and then, on the great feast, corresponding to our Easter, to be put to death as an acceptable victim. Alvar says that the object of the delay was to induce the priest to renounce his religion, if possible. But when the feast day arrived he was more resolute than ever, and was accordingly executed. A trader named Juan was charged with speaking lightly of the Prophet, and sometimes swearing by him, which provoked him to exclaim, "Cursed be he who wishes to name your Prophet!" For these words he was dragged before the Cadi, on the capital charge of blasphemy.

The accused denied the blasphemy, and the Cadi, affecting to show himself mercifully inclined, gave judgment that the evidence was not sufficient to establish the capital offence, but sentenced him to receive five hundred stripes, and to be paraded through the city on an ass, with his face towards the animal's tail, with a crier before him, proclaiming that thus it should be done to any Christian who presumed to mock the Prophet or his religion.

Passing over many acts of a similar kind—without referring to those instances in which whole families were butchered in their beds at night by their Moorish neighbors, merely for professing the Christian faith—we come to those barbarities the victims of which were females. Two nuns, Flora and Maria, of the convent of Cuteclara, having learned that many of their friends had suffered martyrdom, presented themselves before the Cadi. Flora had been before him previously; and he had ordered her to be punished in his presence with stripes on the head, which left her bleeding and half senseless. She now recalls herself to his recollection, as follows: "I am the person whom you punished with stripes, because, being the child of a Moorish father, I would not renounce my faith in Christ. Till now I have concealed myself, because the flesh is weak. Now, having my faith in God, the spirit, through his grace, is willing. I am come here with more courage than you formerly found in me; to proclaim that Christ is the true God; and I curse your prophet for an impostor, an adulterer, and a magician." Before the Cadi could recover from his astonishment, Sister Maria addressed him: "I had a brother," said she, "whom, with his companions, you sent to execution, because they confessed their Lord and Saviour and cursed your Prophet. Now, with the same zeal and firmness which they manifested, I confess what they confessed, and curse what they cursed!"* Of course their doom was sealed.

These instances will show that the Moors could not reproach the Christians for anything worse than they had been guilty of themselves. This, however, does not justify the latter. The gentle spirit of Christianity teaches us not to return evil for evil, but to overcome evil with good. It is greatly to be regretted that the Moors were so severely persecuted—not to mention the cruel wrong of their expulsion, and the irreparable injury it has inflicted on the country which they had contributed so much to enrich, both intellectually and physically. The descendants of both peoples have much to forgive each other; although it must be admitted that, upon the whole, the Arabians

* Hist. de la Dom. de les Arabs, &c., tom. ii., p. 145.

have more reason to complain than the Europeans. The former brought more wealth into Spain than all Europe contained besides; and they were forced to leave it in poverty and wretchedness, despoiled even of their children. They not only brought the most valuable sciences and arts, but clear heads and strong and willing arms to render them available for the common benefit. As long as they were able to improve our civilization, they did so. Are we, who can look back calmly at their career in Europe, to pass sentence of condemnation upon them because they did not always continue great and glorious? We might as well blame the individual for not being as vigorous and active in his old age as he was when in the prime of youth and strength. We should rather remember that if the Arabians degenerated, so did the Greeks and the Romans. What remains for us to do, then, is, not to reproach, much less despise the Arabians; but to make ourselves acquainted with such of their works as the ravages of time have allowed to survive.

ART. V.—1. *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Berlin.* Vol. V. 1860.

2. *Voyage Critique à l'Etna, &c.* By J. A. DE GOURBILLON. 2 vols., 8vo. Paris.

3. *Philosophical Transactions.* Vol. XLIX. London.

4. *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.* Vol. XXI. 1848.

5. *History of the Extinct Volcanoes of the Basin of Neuvied.* 1832.

6. *Annales des Sciences Naturelles.* Tome XV.

GEOLOGY, which for ages attracted only the attention of erudite professors and eccentric devotees of the black-letter school, has pressed itself gradually upon the attention of the student, until a knowledge of its theories has become a necessity, whether we would be conversant with the past, enlightened as to the present, or deduce accurate inferences in regard to the future. From the faithful bosom of our mother earth the geologist brings to light the authentic alphabet that teaches us to discard the deceptions with which the unthinking have obscured the truth, and with patient fingers has unravelled the web of vagaries which had long mystified the past and obscured the present. The sea, moaning above its lost treasures—the mountains, with their forest glooms, glaciers and brows of flame—tombs which affection, reverence and superstition had

guarded; all these have been laid open to the scrutinizing eye of science; and while scientific research has robbed them of the mystic charms with which ignorance and mythology had surrounded them, it has brought out into bold relief those unanswerable arguments, destined perhaps, at some future period, to produce more wonderful revolutions in bibliography and religion, than have ever been effected by the sword of the Saracen or the imperious mandates of the despot.

Geology teaches us that not only those revolutions of the globe, in which the eye of the casualist can discern, design and method, but also those terrific phenomena which have impressed us as anomalies; or as the visitations of an offended Deity, are included within those general laws by which the universe is governed; and although the mountains crumble, the plains are rent, the rivers and seas converted into dry land, and whole cities ingulfed, yet the laws by which these are governed have remained invariably the same; and judging the future by the past, the very heavens may be rolled together as a scroll, and yet the purposes of Him who created and pronounced his creations "good," shall know no variableness or shadow of change.

So obvious is the constant tendency of all things to decay and to be reproduced, that the ancients believed the universe was subjected to stated periods of destruction and renovation, reducible to exact calculation. Orpheus allowed the earth 120,000 years in which to complete its metamorphosis; Cassander, 360,000 years; while others, more or less sanguine, confined the period within 300,000. This rejuvenescence of our planet was, they believed, designed by the Creator for the express purpose of purifying a sinful world, and giving to a new generation the opportunity of commencing life with all the advantages which are supposed to have surrounded our first parents in the Garden of Eden. The Indians are said to have celebrated these periods of destruction with barbaric rites of festivity.

In the Institutes of Menu, the sacred volume of the Hindoos, to which Sir William Jones ascribes an antiquity of at least 880 years B. C., occurs the following passage: "Thus, that immutable power, by waking and reposing, alternately vivifies and destroys in eternal succession the whole assemblage of locomotive and immovable creatures."

Fortunately for us of the present century, these theories may be considered chimeras of the olden time, otherwise the accumulations of our individual and national sins would demand that a second deluge should sweep us from off the face of the globe. Regardless of theories, ancient or modern, it is enough

for us to know that not a day passes, but it leaves behind the sad lesson of the mutability of all things. The agencies to which we are indebted for this gradual undermining and reconstruction may be designated as the aqueous and the igneous—the aqueous including all streams of water, seas and oceans; constantly wearing away the soil, producing extensive geographical changes both along our coasts and inland countries; while the igneous, represented by the earthquakes and volcanoes, are as diligently employed in reproducing new treasures of earth, minerals and stones, with which to repair the ravages of their formidable opponents.

It is true, that only now and then are we startled from our equanimity by some terrific earthquake which has overwhelmed thousands of our fellow-creatures; the terrible visitation is remote, or we forget, in our eager and selfish pursuits, the long catalogue of sufferings to which its victims have been doomed; or worse still, familiarity with the evil may have rendered us callous to its repetition. They come and go; nature, regardless of the cost, perfects in her mysterious laboratory the good and evil allotted to our portion, and silently, but not the less rapidly, enforces the stern decrees of destiny. It is only when we regard suffering and loss of life, and the vast numbers of these awful phenomena in the aggregate, that we fully realize what effectual service they render as agents of the world's progress. It is estimated that not a day passes without one or more shocks being experienced in some part of our globe, and as the area of the ocean is nearly three times that of the land, Gay-Lussac gives it as his opinion that not less than three submarine earthquakes are of daily occurrence.

We venture to predict that the reader who has never regarded this subject with attention, especially if he is hypochondriac, and nervously inclined, will scarcely feel obliged to us for suggesting that the mundane sphere he inhabits is subject to 1,460 convulsions yearly, not to mention the *extras*. It is to be inferred that, with due experience, one comes to regard even earthquakes with indifference, since we read of districts where, at certain periods, the inhabitants take no more notice of the number of shocks, than persons in other regions do of the showers of rain. Indeed, the recipient not only becomes *nonchalant*, but in time becomes scientific; for Humboldt assures us that Boussingault and himself became "fitted for quiet and careful observation, and also for collecting varying evidence with critical care on the spot; nay, even for examining under what conditions the mighty changes of the surface of the earth, the fresh traces of which one recognizes, have

taken place." But we read with a thrill of admiration how, "seated at night in the crater of Vesuvius, at the foot of a small cone of eruption, with his chronometer in his hand," he felt "a concussion of the soil very regularly every twenty or twenty-five seconds, immediately before each eruption of red-hot cinders."* This sublime position, he informs us, he occupied after the great earthquake of Naples, July 26th, 1805.†

That earthquakes and volcanoes are the results of the same subterranean causes, is established beyond question, since the activity of one is almost always the precursor of the other, although the volcano, acting as a safety-valve in relieving the earth of its accumulated burdens, not unfrequently appeases the restless regions which otherwise would have broken out into destructive demonstrations. We do not purpose rendering ourselves tedious by a scientific disquisition upon the causes, since volumes have already been written upon this very subject, which, while they have satisfied some and displeased others, have nevertheless thrown all the light upon this interesting subject which genius, patience, experience and resources could command. The essential character of these phenomena is indicated by displacement, commotion, elevation and formation of fissures, and are usually accompanied with reports like the discharge of cannon, and claps of subterranean thunder, or roarings, which the Mexicans call *El gran ruido*, and when more prolonged and terrific, *Bramidos y truenos subteraneos*. Occasionally this peculiar detonation occurs without any perceptible vibration of the earth, and continues many hours, sometimes days, and in the instance related as having occurred in the plateau of Guanaxuato, several weeks. During this whole period no motion was perceptible, not even in the mines, which were 1,600 feet in depth. The witnesses of this wonderful phenomenon affirm, that from the 13th to the 16th of January, it seemed as if heavy clouds lay at their feet, belching forth short, quick claps of thunder, or subsiding into slow, continuous mumblings, which filled the inhabitants with such dismay, that they fled the city in so large numbers, that it be-

* Other investigators do not agree, however, with Humboldt in this particular. The reverse is insisted upon by the majority. "No familiarity with the phenomenon," says Tschudi, "can blunt this feeling. The inhabitant of Lima, who, from childhood, has frequently witnessed these convulsions of nature, is roused from his sleep by the shock, and rushes from his apartment with the cry of *Misericordia!* The foreigner from the north of Europe, who knows nothing of earthquakes but by description, waits with impatience to feel the movement of the earth, and longs to hear with his own ear the subterranean sounds which he has hitherto considered fabulous. With levity he treats the apprehension of a coming convulsion, and laughs at the fears of the natives; but as soon as his wish is gratified, he is terror-stricken, and is involuntarily prompted to seek safety in flight."—*Travels in Peru*, vol. i., p. 119.

† Cosmos, vol. v., p. 174.

came necessary to resort to fines and imprisonments to prevent the city from being depopulated. We find some glimpses of human nature in all things, and we may be excused for smiling at the self-complacency of these Mexican magistrates, who solemnly announced to the refugees in their *proclamas*, that "the magistrates, *in their wisdom*, (en su sabiduria,) would at once know when there was actual danger, and would give orders for flight." As is too often the case, the people preferred to rely upon their own sagacity. The result was a famine, occasioned by the dependence of the plateaux upon the table-lands for corn, and market-men had no penchant for a city that was avoided by its own inhabitants.

"But what will not a thirst for gold lead us to do?" The truants, who had so little respect for the wisdom of their rulers, had left behind them immense treasures of silver, and gradually returned to look after their ingots. After long, weary weeks of fright and suspense, the rumblings subsided as gradually as they had commenced, and never have occurred there since.

The vibratory motions of earthquakes are either vertical, horizontal or rotary. The two first named often occur simultaneously, but generally the undulations are in a linear direction, with the velocity of from 20 to 28 miles a minute, and sometimes in circles or large ellipses. The circling rotary commotion is considered the most dangerous. Perhaps of all earthquakes, those known as the mine-like, where the force acts from below upward, are the most to be dreaded. This phenomenon is more generally noiseless, and utters no warning to the doomed inhabitants to "flee to the mountains." Like all evils that steal upon us unawares, this is the more terrible for its sinister approach. The earth yawns, ingulfs, and closes above its hapless victims, and their death or lingering tortures can only be the subject of vain speculation to friend or foe. Not unfrequently the survivor, scarcely less wretched than his friend, listens to the agonized moans of some cherished object, buried beneath ruins which no human agency can circumvent. Of this class was the dreadful catastrophe of Riobamba, which occurred Feb. 4th, 1797, and swept 30,000 unshrined souls into one common grave. Upon this sad occasion, we are told, no explosion was heard until eighteen or twenty minutes after the upheaving, and then only in Quito and Sbarra, which were far distant from Tacunga, Hambato, and the principal scene of destruction. We are indebted to the Valencian botanist, Don José Cavamilles, for the earliest account of this terrible catastrophe. The fissures, upon this occasion, opened and closed with such frightful rapidity, that men only saved themselves

from sinking by instantaneously extending both arms and clutching at the edges of the monster seams. Whole caravans, with their riders, disappeared from the spot upon which but an instant previous they had reposed in safety; while others, more upon the alert, fled back aghast, and were saved from a like tragic fate.

So violent were the oscillations, that massive stone churches and lofty structures swayed to and fro like reeds before the wind, and persons standing at heights of more than twelve feet were enabled to step upon the pavement unharmed. The largest buildings sunk entire, and with so little damage, that in one instance upon record, the occupants ranged through the rooms at will, procured lights and food, and endured two days' imprisonment in this charnel-house, before they were relieved from their perilous condition. The imagination is appalled in reflecting upon the horrible mental suffering which these poor victims must have endured, while doubtful of the ability of their friends to rescue them from their living burials. The bodies of many of the inhabitants were found to have been hurled to Callea, a hill several hundred feet high, and upon the opposite side of the river. So utter was the destruction of this city, that when, some years later, a plan of it was taken by Humboldt, he found that out of all the massive structures that had formerly adorned it, there remained only heaps of stone from eight to ten feet high.

An equally suggestive, but happily less tragical illustration of the rapidity of the opening and closing of fissures, is found in Scacchi's report of the great earthquake in the Neapolitan province of Basilicota, which occurred in 1851, upon which occasion, he assures us that a hen was found with both feet caught in the pavement, in Basile, near Melfi.

The remarkable earthquake of Calabria, which occurred in 1783, although mine-like, was accompanied by many interesting phenomena. The terror of animals previous to the shock was extreme, and in proportion to their intelligence. The noble horse, by his neighs and rolling eyeballs, projecting ears and furious pawing of the earth, manifested his terror of coming evil. The dog crouched and howled out his plaintive warning. The cat bristled its fur, as if to contend with an enemy, while fowls grew restless and stupid. Animals, dumb until then, fled with cries of distress. The first shock was preceded by a sultry shower, and immediately the whole terrible panorama commenced moving. The howling of the wind, the roaring of the sea, the subterranean thunder chanted the requiem of destruction, while the agonized earth rocked to and fro as if waking the living, so soon to be con-

signed to her sacred trust. Lakes and rivers opened where dry ground had been, towns and villages crumbled to the ground, and 40,000 persons were sacrificed before the avenging spirit was appeased. An epidemic ensued, and 20,000 more victims were numbered with the first, swelling the figures to the enormous number of 60,000.

Of this dreadful visitation many interesting details have been recorded, and we find a most impressive narrative, written by an intelligent traveller, who visited the localities while yet the ravages of the catastrophe were visible. The opening and closing of the fissures upon this occasion were equally remarkable with those already mentioned. A Prior of the Carmelites, near Soriano, was walking alone, when he perceived the earth's vibrations, and was hastening onward in terror, when the fissure opened, closed upon one of his legs, opened again, and released him. The traveller who relates this incident saw and conversed with the Prior, who showed him the impression still left upon his limb.

Three paper-makers were in company, proceeding in search of game—Grico, Roviti, and Felia. Roviti had in his possession a gun. When the shock was perceived his two companions fled; but Roviti, encumbered by his gun, which he did not relinquish, fell into a chasm. A second shock released him, and he fell into a swamp near by, where he was rocked by the earth until a third commotion threw him from thence, and he lighted upon the brink of a newly-opened chasm, half dead with terror. His gun was afterwards found upon the banks of the river, (Caridi,) which, however, had changed its bed.

Some affecting instances of parental devotion are also recorded by the same writer. Among the ruins was discovered a mother embracing her two small children, the face downwards, clearly indicating by her position that she placed her own body between her offspring and the falling roof. Don Antonia Buffo and his wife had one daughter, of whom they were both passionately fond. Finding escape impossible, the parents placed the child between them, embraced each other, and bravely awaited their fate. Even death seemed to respect such devotion, for it spared the object of their mutual love; nor did it unclasp the loving embrace with which, dying, they had sheltered their child.

It is worthy of notice that, where the dead have been exhumed, the attitudes of the men have generally indicated that they had not tamely submitted to their fate, but opposed to it resistance and reason. The women, on the contrary, exhibit, in the same manner, despair, devotion, and resignation. The following instance of presence of mind is not without inter-

est: In Casoletto, near Oppido, the prince was seated at table with his family, when the house commenced rocking. His brother, perceiving an aperture open in the wall, sprang through it, effecting his escape with the loss of one shoe. The entire family were buried in the ruins, but one son was afterwards released alive. As illustrative of the powers of endurance of animals, it is related that two pigs lived thirty-two days; when released they refused food, but drank eagerly; and finally recovered. A cat was found that had been buried forty days. Puss was also very thirsty, and recovered. A woman buried seven days was exhumed. She complained of excessive thirst, but thought she had suffered little bodily pain, and had probably slept. A girl who had charge of an infant clasped it in her arms, and the two were buried together. The child died upon the fifth day; the girl was extricated upon the eleventh. Although her thigh had been broken, she had experienced little suffering, except from thirst, and fancied she, too, had slumbered. Very many curious results of this earthquake are upon record. An obelisk was partially turned round and removed about nine inches from its original place on its pedestal, while the latter had not been moved from its true position.

Close to the lower part of Seminara was an extensive level, partly planted with olive-trees and partly covered by a beautiful orchard, beyond which flowed a river. This level was rent asunder, "one-half of the surface carried to the distance of 200 feet, into a valley 60 feet deep, and after forcing another portion of the level into a deep chasm, forced into it the river, leaving its former bed dry." Exactly on a line where the level was torn asunder stood a row of olive-trees; the impressions of the roots in the soil were still very distinctly visible, while on the opposite side of the chasm the trees were hanging over the new bed of the river laden with fruit.

A landlord, with his wife, child, and four guests, were reposing in an inn, when the house was caught up, carried to the distance of 300 paces, and all killed, with the exception of the landlord and his wife.* A peasant had ascended a tree, when

* This occurrence took place in the city of *Terra Nova*, in Sicily, and is related as follows: "In one of the streets was an inn, distant about three hundred paces from the river Soli: immediately before the formidable shock, the host, John Aquilino, his wife, one of their nieces, and four travellers, were in a ground-floor room of the inn. At one end of it was a bed; at the foot of the bed a brasier, to contain hot charcoal; and around the room were some chairs, a table, and different domestic utensils. The host was fast asleep on the bed; his wife was seated before the brasier, with her feet resting on its base, and holding in her arms her niece, with whom she was playing; the four travellers were sitting round a table on the left of the door, engaged in a game at cards. Such were the different attitudes of the personages, and such the disposition of the scene, when, in a shorter time than would be required to relate it, the theatre and actors had changed their place.

both were caught up and borne away to some distance, and deposited safely. At Seminara a lady possessed an olive grove, which was converted into a hill six or seven feet high, very much to the improvement of the fruit, the higher elevation proving the more favorable. A new lake was also formed, now called Lago del Tolfilo, which extends 1,169 feet in length and 70 feet in depth. Seminara had 5,000 inhabitants, of whom more than one-half fell victims to this convulsion. At this place also occurred the most terrible of all the sad things yet mentioned—that of a man who had fled for safety to the roof of his house; amid the general destruction, the flames encompassed him, the stone buildidgs became heated, and he was literally roasted alive before the eyes of the spectators, who listened to his despairing supplications unable to afford him the slightest assistance.

When the earthquake has volcanic connection, the phenomenon is accompanied at the same time with movement and the physical production of matter, such as hot water, carbonic acid gas, and other mofettes, black smoke, flames of fire, sand, mud, and moyas mixed with charcoal;—all these rise from fissures at a distance from the volcanoes.

The natural phenomena which accompany earthquakes and volcanoes are as varied as they are curious. Springs, both of hot and cold water, rise, and are formed permanently. Old springs disappear or become heated, or are impregnated with mineral substances, becoming bitter like those of Anigris in Greece, and not unfrequently medicinal. The salt spring in a well near Sassendorf, in Westphalia, in the district of Amsberg, we are told by Abich, increased about 1½ per cent. in its amount of saline matter in consequence of the earthquake of July 20, 1846, the centre of commotion to which is placed at St. Goar, on the Rhine.

During the Swiss earthquake, August 25, 1851, according to Charpentier, the temperature of the sulphurous springs of Lavey rose from 87° to 97° F. Some rocks and islands, after floating, and having been subject to violent movements, have become stationary and immovable as Delos and the Cyanean Isles. According to Raspe, it is probable that all the traditions of islands in the Mediterranean having at former times changed their positions, originated in the changes produced in their forms by earthquakes. We know that new islands have been raised within the historic period. Strabo, among others,

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A violent shock detached the house from the soil on which it rested; house, host, hostess, niece, and the four travellers were thrown in an instant to the other side of the river; and a frightful abyss appeared on the spot which they had left."—*Voyage Critique à l'Etna.* Par M. de Gourbillon, vol. i., p. 185.

alludes to the tradition that Sicily has been separated by a convulsion from Italy, and says that the reason earthquakes are less frequent in that vicinity than formerly is because recently there have been open orifices through which the fire, water, and ignited matters escape. Pliny also enumerates the new islands that had been formed in the Mediterranean sea. Avicenna, an Arabian writer of the tenth century, in a short treatise upon the "Cause of Mountains," mentions a "violent earthquake by which land is elevated and becomes a mountain." In the same century, Omar, surnamed "The Learned," wrote a work upon the "Retreat of the Sea," by which it appears that, comparing the charts of his own time with those made by the Persians and Indians 2,000 years previous, "he was satisfied that very important changes had taken place in the form of the coast of Africa, and that the extension of the sea had been formerly greater."

Robert Hooke, in 1705, accounted for the manner in which shells had been conveyed into the higher parts of the Alps, Apennines, and Pyrenean hills, through the agency of earthquakes. He also mentions that in 1591 "land rose in the island of St. Michael during an eruption." In the West Indies, in the year 1690, there was an earthquake, when the space of earth raised or struck upward by the shock is said to have exceeded the length of the Alps and the Pyrenees.

The rapidity with which the waves of commotion are propagated is also an inquiry of much interest. This, we hardly need say, is modified in various ways by the different densities of the strata through which the commotion passes. The most violent commotions do not necessarily possess the greatest velocity. It has, until quite recently, been difficult to obtain exact mathematical conclusions; but in 1846 a reliable result was obtained by Julius Schmidt, assistant at the Observatory of Bonn, from the Rhenish earthquake of the 29th July. Upon this occasion, the propagation was 14,956 geographical miles in a minute, equal to 1,466 feet in the second. This, as the reader will remember, exceeds the velocity of waves of sound in the air, but is not equal to the transmission of sound in water, which, if we may rely upon the experiments of Colladon and Sturm, is at the rate of 5,016 feet; or to the waves of sound in cast-iron tubes, which Biot found to be 11,393 feet in the second. During the earthquake of Lisbon, of November 1st, 1755, Schmidt reckoned the velocity at 7,953 feet a second, at which rate it would have passed round the equatorial circumference of the earth in about ninety-five hours.

The earthquake of Lisbon is too familiar for description; it destroyed whole cities in Europe and Africa; was the cause

of concussions between the Azores, Madeira, and the Continent—extended to Africa, Morocco, Spain, Portugal, France, Hamburg, the coast of England and north of Scotland, and even to the coast of America.* The loss of life upon this occasion is differently estimated at from 100,000 to 300,000, and the shock was of five minutes' duration. The pen recoils from dwelling upon the multiplicity of sufferings which this monster earthquake occasioned. They have been described again and again with a minuteness of detail that fills one with dismay.

The years of 1796 and 1811 will long be remembered as examples of earthquakes combined with volcanic power. It was during the latter year that the island of Sabrina first made its appearance in the group of the Azores. The elevation preceded the eruption; but after the eruption of cinders had continued six days, the island rose to a height of 320 feet above the surface of the sea. What renders this island the more remarkable is its appearance and disappearance at three different times, between stated intervals of ninety-one and ninety-two years. During May, 1811, more than two hundred shocks of earthquakes occurred on the island of St. Vincent alone. December, 1811, the western valleys of our own continent, in the vicinity of the Ohio, Mississippi, and Arkansas, experienced innumerable shocks. Between New Madrid, Little Prairie, and La Saline, to the north of Cincinnati, the earthquakes occurred every hour for months together.

The longest and most regular band of volcanic reactions is found in Central Asia; the next longest among the Andes of America. The volcanoes occurring between the second degree south, and the third degree north latitude, are Cayambe, Cotopaxi, which is the loftiest and most destructive, Piahincha, Antisana, L'Alter, and Yunguraqua. The Indians have a tradition that L'Alter was once higher than Chimborazo, but that it was broken down by an irruption that lasted eight years. Five active volcanoes traverse Mexico from west to east; Tuxtla, Orizaba, Popocatepetl, Jorallo, and Colima. To the north of Mexico there are three; and thus we might go on enumerating, until we were startled into the belief that the whole universe is one vast magazine, waiting for the signal from its Creator to burn with consuming fire, and overwhelm every living and moving thing in universal destruction. And yet nature teaches us by examples that even these most fearful agents are held in abeyance to the great laws by which all things are governed, and that when their mission is accom-

* Philoso. Trans., vol. xlix.

plished they too must be shorn of their strength, their fires be extinguished, and themselves in turn become the prey to the general devastation. There was a time when Ætna was not a burning mountain, and the time will no doubt arrive when she will again cease to be regarded as an object of terror.

The classical volcano of Mosychlos, on the island sacred to Hephestos, is already extinct, and yet its "high whirling flames" were as familiar to Sophocles as are those of Vesuvius to us. The most ancient eruption of Mt. Ætna upon record is that mentioned by Pindar and Æschylus, as occurring under Hiero, in the second year of the 75th Olympiad. It is probable that Hesiod was aware of the devastating eruptions of Ætna before the period of Greek immigration. In the time of Nero men were disposed to class Ætna among the volcanic mountains which were gradually becoming extinct, and it was maintained by Ælian "that mariners could no longer see the sinking summit of the mountain from so great a distance at sea."*

It is worthy of remark, that notwithstanding all our boasted progress in science, there is scarcely a single theory entertained at the present day by eminent geologists which is not referred to in one form or other by ancient naturalists. Volcanoes as well as earthquakes are treated with great ability and at considerable length both by Pliny and Seneca, especially by the latter. Pliny shows that when the vibration is greatest on the surface of the earth—so great as to cause houses to fall—the general danger is least. "Tutissimum est cum vibrat crispante ædificorum crepitu; et cum intumiscet assurgens alternoque motu residet, innoxium et cum concurrentio tecta contrario ictu ariebant; quoniam alter motus alteri renititur."—(PLINY, ii., 82.) The same philosopher regards earthquakes as subterranean storms, and proceeds to show the analogy between them and atmospheric storms. In his opinion, the two kinds can never exist at the same time. The subterranean storm can take place, he says, only when our atmosphere is perfectly tranquil. "Ventos in causa esse non dubium reor. Neque enim unquam intremiscunt terræ, nisi sopito mari, cœloque adeo tranquillo, ut volatus avium non pendeant, subtracto omni spiritu qui vehit; nec unquam nisi post ventos conditos, scilicet in venas et cavernas ejus occulto affatu. Neque aliud est in terra tremor, quam in nube tonitruum; nec hiatus aliud quam cum fulmen erumpit, incluso spiritu luctante et ad libertatem exire nitente." —(PLINY, ii., 79.) To those who think that the moderns have so much surpassed the ancients in scientific knowledge, or rather,

* Ælian. Var. Hist., viii., 2.

those who have no faith in the scientific attainments of the latter, the remarks of the Roman naturalist will seem very absurd, but it is not the less true that they are borne out by the observations of the most intelligent travellers and scientific men of our own day. Thus, for instance, Tschudi tells us, that

"Along the whole coast of Peru the atmosphere is almost uniformly in a state of repose. It is not illuminated by the lightning's flash, or disturbed by the roar of the thunder; no deluges of rain, no fierce hurricanes destroy the fruits of the fields, and with them the hopes of the husbandman. *But the mildness of the elements above ground is frightfully counterbalanced by their subterranean fury.* Lima is frequently visited by earthquakes, and several times the city has been reduced to a mass of ruins. At an average, forty-five shocks may be counted on in a year. Most of them occur in the latter part of October, in November, December, January, May and June. Experience gives reason to expect the visitation of two desolating earthquakes in a century. The period between the two is from forty to sixty years."—*Travels in Peru*, vol. i., p. 85.

Happily for the inhabitants of the United States, they are exempt from these scourges that devastate fairer lands. It is true that some slight shocks of the lower grades of earthquakes have been felt even in the New England states. In 1846, a tremor ran through Massachusetts, and was traceable to the northern part of New Hampshire; and yet later, in 1852, a still more severe concussion was felt in Salem, Woburn and Groton, Mass., and was also perceptible in Exeter, N. H., which lasted thirty seconds, and occasioned some alarm among people so little accustomed to such visitants.

As no evil exists without some corresponding good, we turn from the first to the more grateful consideration of the latter. We are indebted to a volcano for the confirmation of the theory of counter-currents in the upper regions. From the island of Barbadoes to that of St. Vincent, the trade winds blow with great force, and yet, during an eruption of the volcano in the island of St. Vincent in 1812, ashes fell abundantly from a great height upon Barbadoes. This apparent transposition of ashes against the wind developed the theory of counter-currents.

Seasons of unusual fertility not unfrequently follow earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, the land being enriched by the vegetable and mineral substances brought thither by wind and water; a consideration not to be overlooked by the poor peasant, who has seen every dollar's worth of property he possessed in the world devastated by one fell swoop of the destroyer.

We know that, as one becomes familiar with volcanic phenomena, he learns to regard them as generous foes, which give timely notice of an intended attack, and forbear to strike until

the defenceless are secure. Even upon that city which romance and research have rendered for ever immortal, it is written that it fell in open combat, since only here and there a human skeleton has been found, indicating that the inhabitants had fled. Indeed, to an imaginative mind, the volcanic region is easily rendered instinctive, and one can readily believe that the lad who grows up beneath the shadows of Vesuvius, or sports with the harmless lavas of Ætna, comes to regard them with pride and affection, and even to forgive the fatal caprices in which, from time to time, they growl out their discontent with dame nature, and hurl out their fiery weapons of defence. It is no wonder that, with all the dark and weird attractions they possess, they should have become objects of worship to the poor heathen groping in his ignorance for the unknown God, or that they should have fancied the burning crater to be the entrance to that fearful Hades, where reigned the evil genii, whom they endeavored to appease with prayers and ovations.

As regards the earthquake and volcano, there can be but one decision in reference to their necessity as a part of the economy of nature. Living as we do upon the surface of a planet, constantly consuming itself with its own fires, upon what could we rely for the escape of its supernumerary gases and mephites, but to these very orifices which are provided as their outlets? With all the loss of human life, and the horrible details of every imaginable suffering with which their phenomena are associated, a moment's reflection will convince us, that although these eruptions are attended with so many evils, they are yet regulated by, and subjected to, that natural and generous law which demands that the interests of the few shall always be sacrificed to the good of the many.

ART. VI.—1. *Charter of the Regents of the University of New York to Manhattan College.* 1863.

2. *Notes on the Public Schools and Universities of Holland and Germany.* By H. W. BARRON, Esq., M. P. London: Ridgeway.

3. *Elements of Tuition. Part III. Ludus Literarius; The Classical and Grammar School.* By the Rev. ANDREW BELL, D.D., LL.D.

4. *The Student Life in Germany.* By WILLIAM HOWITT; from the unpublished MS. of Dr. Cornelius. London. 1860.

THOSE who found colleges may be ranked among the greatest benefactors of mankind. They have been appreciated accordingly in every age, by all enlightened nations. The amount of

attention bestowed on such institutions by any people is the truest criterion of their intellectual progress or intellectual degeneracy. From the time of Pericles to the present, they have been encouraged or discouraged in every state, in proportion as it was enlightened or otherwise. Of all the advantages possessed by our own country, there is nothing, therefore, of which we have more reason to be proud, than of the number of our colleges. No other nation, ancient or modern, could boast so many in proportion to its population, at the same age. If it be said that a large number of them are of an inferior character, we cannot deny the fact, although with such we have nothing to do on the present occasion. Many of them are, indeed, no better than the ordinary grammar schools of older countries; not a few are of a still lower grade.

But colleges improve much faster than schools, for not only have the former a higher standard to attain than the latter, but also stronger inducements to establish a high character. There is something in the very nature of a college that demands the best efforts of all who belong to it. The professors as well as the students are actuated by a spirit of emulation, which is seldom felt in ordinary schools; never to any considerable extent. The school-teacher has, generally, to give instruction in various branches; the college professor seldom in more than one branch. They are only the credulous who believe that any one mind can be equally versed in the sciences and the languages. Human life, even when it reaches its greatest limit, is far too short to enable the most studious to learn half what the majority of school-teachers profess to teach their pupils to perfection. It needs no argument to prove that a man who has only to teach algebra or Latin, can impart more accurate instruction to his pupils, than the man of equal advantages and culture, who undertakes to teach, not only both algebra and Latin, but also geometry, trigonometry, chemistry, book-keeping, navigation, &c.

Another great advantage which the college possesses over the school, and which causes the former to improve much faster than the latter, is the habit of free discussion among the students. This is encouraged most in the best colleges; it is the most learned professors that allow most liberty to their pupils; and it is the most ignorant who allow least—especially in any circumstances in which their own knowledge can be called into question, or rather in which their ignorance is in danger of being exposed. This is what La Bruyère means when he tells us, that " C'est la profonde ignorance, qui inspire le ton dogmatique. Celui qui ne sait rien croit enseigner aux autres ce qu'il vient d'apprendre lui-même: celui qui sait beaucoup,

pense à peine que ce qu'il dit puisse être ignoré, et parle plus indifféremment."*

Neither Socrates nor Plato was dogmatic. Both conveyed instruction, not by means of formal speeches to silent students, but by means of dialogues, in which the student gave his opinion as freely as his master. The exeperience of the best educators from Aristotle to Pestalozzi shows that this is the best system, but it is rarely used in schools, scarcely ever, except in the preparatory schools connected with colleges.

The Spartans were so deeply impressed with the superiority of an education that afforded the students opportunities of carrying on discussions with their teachers as well as with each other, that among them it was unlawful for the father himself to bring up his children according to his fancy. As soon as they were seven years old they were all enlisted in several companies, and instructed and disciplined by public teachers. By this means Sparta soon became the mistress of Greece. The Spartan professors allowed the fullest liberty of discussion among their pupils; nor did they assume to be above being questioned themselves; although the student could not outrage public opinion more, or bring greater disgrace on himself, than by taking any improper advantage of the privilege thus allowed. Pericles, in his famous oration at the funeral of the Athenian youths who perished in the Samian expedition, observes that the loss which the commonwealth suffered by the loss of its youth was like that which the year would suffer by the destruction of spring; and the same remark has been applied, by those best competent to form an opinion on the subject, to the injury sustained by the public from a wrong system of edution for their children. That the Romans entertained similar views on the subject of education we have ample proof. The leading citizens either sent their sons to college at an early age, or took exclusive charge of their tuition themselves. Thus, Plutarch tells us, in his Life of Cato, that as soon as his son was capable of learning, Cato would suffer no one to instruct him at home but himself; although he had a tutor named Chilo who was an excellent grammarian, and who taught a great many other youths. Cicero was equally careful of the education of his son Marcus. First he took all possible pains with him at home; and then sent him to Athens to the most celebrated academy at the time in the world—an institution corresponding to our best colleges, "where," we are told, "a vast concourse out of the most polite nations could not but furnish

* Cicero, in his remarks on the same subject, says, that "The *authority* of those who teach is very often an *impediment* to those who desire to learn. Obest plerumque iss qui discere volunt auctoritas eorum qui docent."—*De Naturâ Deorum*, 1, 5.

the young gentleman with a multitude of great examples, and accidents that might insensibly have instructed him in his designed studies. Cratippus, his tutor, at the Academy was one of the greatest philosophers of the age; and, as if all the books then written had not been sufficient for his use, he composed others on purpose for him." For the benefit of parents and guardians who think that if their sons do not become learned, it must follow that the college at which they place them is to blame, we may observe, in passing, that all these accumulated advantages—the best, perhaps, ever afforded to a student—failed to make a scholar or a man of culture of Marcus. These preliminary remarks, desultory as they are, will serve to illustrate the truth of our first observation; and we may add the opinion of an eminent scholar, who thinks that "any one may raise or found a school; and this, according to the success of the teacher, and number of scholars, may flourish or fade away, so that the school may die with the master, or his learning may, according to circumstances, travel with him from one place to another. A college, on the other hand, besides being a general studium, in reference to literature, has its settled endowments, its public laws, its distinct officers and established magistrates, its regular degrees and privileges, its permanent rector, or chancellor, &c."*

Since such are the opinions of the most profound thinkers and most learned men, the granting of a charter to a new college must be a source of pleasure to every true friend of education whose mind is not warped by prejudice, especially when it is granted, not by politicians, but by educated men who eschew politics, and whose business it is to take exclusive charge of the higher educational interests of the State, and see that incompetent or unworthy persons are not intrusted with powers and privileges intended only for those who not only possess the necessary learning, abilities, and resources, but also devote themselves in good faith to the cause of education. Thus it is that, had we no further evidence of the character of Manhattan College than the fact that it has obtained a charter from the Board of Regents of the University of New York, we should be inclined to regard it as an institution worthy of public confidence—an opinion which would be much strengthened by our knowing that it is under the direction of a Roman Catholic fraternity, known as "The Brothers of the Christian Schools." Not, indeed, that the Brothers are disliked anywhere; in Protestant as well as in Catholic countries their devotion to the cause of education has secured them the esteem of

* *Dissertation on the Privileges of Cambridge.* By J. M. Dyer, LL.D.

intelligent men of all denominations; partly because it is one of their strictest rules that none of their members will undertake to give instruction in any branch with which he is not thoroughly conversant, and partly because they carefully abstain from interfering in any way with the religious views of Protestant students.

Whatever may be the faults of the American people, fortunately sectarian bigotry is not among them. It could not be expected that there would be no bigots where there are so many different sects; accordingly we see occasional ebullitions of bigotry; but, although they are productive of much evil, they are so transient and confined to so small a number that they cannot be regarded, in any just sense, as national. In other words, they do not alter the fact that the American people are essentially liberal; nowhere else in the world do the various Christian sects live together in more cordial amity. At the same time, the Catholics themselves would hardly expect that they, who form so comparatively small a minority, could get a charter for a college so easily as the Episcopalian Protestants, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, the Congregationalists, or the Baptists. We dare say there is not one of these sects which is not represented in our Board of Regents; but we doubt whether it contains a single Catholic. It is all the more to its credit, then, to have granted the charter, on ascertaining, by due investigation, that all the necessary conditions had been fulfilled by those applying for it. The Board have reasoned on the subject somewhat as we do ourselves. Although we do not belong to the Catholic Church, we are aware that the best scholars of the modern world—and, we may add, the most liberal thinkers—have been educated in Catholic seminaries. If we assign to the Protestant Reformation the highest importance claimed for it by the most zealous Protestants, must we not still admit that its master-spirits were the pupils of Catholic teachers? Not even in our boyhood could we be induced to look with suspicion—much less hatred—on institutions which can claim the glory of such students as Dante, Tasso, and Angelo, alone, not to mention ecclesiastics like Cardinal Richelieu, the illustrious founder of the French Academy, which, by the common consent of all nations, surpasses every similar institution now existing.

But Manhattan College had enjoyed a high reputation before it sought any charter—a higher reputation than many colleges incorporated for years; although to its present Rector, who took charge of it only three years ago, is due all the credit for the rank which it now occupies among the similar institutions of our country. It first attracted attention some two

years since, as much for its liberality as for its thoroughness. In time, it was visited by editors and correspondents of leading journals of New York and other cities, who were desirous of responding to the inquiries of their readers as to whether the fame of the new institution was justified by the qualifications of its professors, its system of instruction, mode of government, &c. As specimens of the reports thus made by those who had no interest to subserve but that of truth, and who were best competent to form an opinion of what they had seen, we will give extracts from two of the most respectable and most intelligent papers in this country. The critic of Morris and Willis's *Home Journal* describes the institution as follows:

"* * * We found that there is no freemasonry about Manhattan College—no secrecy. Not only are all visitors permitted, but they are requested, to examine the students. Aware that the most learned may sometimes be puzzled by miscellaneous questions for which they are unprepared, we did not intend to propose many in this case; although we had every reason to expect intelligence of a high order from the appearance of the classes. However, we soon found that far from shrinking from an examination, or being confused by it, all the more advanced students wished to have their proficiency and intelligence put to the test. We soon perceived that this arose from no vanity, but from the confidence acquired by experience. They are used to *examinations*, not to 'exhibitions.' The Rector thinks that parents and guardians have a right to see what they get for their money, and not to be put off by mere dumb show or display; and we wish that all educators would act on the same principle. In short, we have seldom, if ever, been more agreeably surprised than by the intelligence of the higher classes in Manhattan College. In the languages, ancient and modern, as well as in the mathematics, they exhibit remarkable proficiency. Each department is under the charge of a professor who has made what he teaches a specialty. Even music has its regular 'chair;' and nowhere have we seen the professor of music surrounded by a larger class, each member being provided with an instrument of some kind. It needs no argument to prove how agreeable is the transition from the rendering of a difficult passage in Sallust or Horace, the demonstration of a proposition in Euclid, the solution of a problem in algebra, or the writing of an English, French, or Latin composition, to assisting in the performance of a spirited, patriotic march or war-song. * * There is, in fact, nothing sectarian in the institution over which he [the Rector] presides; for among the professors, as well as among the students, there are Protestants. The college is delightfully situated on the right bank of the Hudson, about eight miles from New York, commanding as it does a view of one of the most picturesque and beautiful landscapes we have ever beheld from the windows of an educational institution."

The *Boston Post* makes a report equally favorable through one of its special correspondents, as may be seen from the following extract:

"When leaving Boston I did not intend to make any halt until I

reached this city, but I met a Frenchman, who induced me to accompany him on a visit to three colleges. I was all the more willing to accept his invitation, because he informed me that his object in coming to this country was to write a book on American Colleges, and although quite a savant—'as learned as a pundit'—he was very agreeable withal. After we had visited two, which will be nameless, for the present, he said: 'Well, I learn that the third has only just got a charter, and I am curious to see how much does it differ from its elder sisters.' This observation was made, not in Anglo-Saxon, but in the best French, and with that expressive gesture peculiar to the Parisian. I soon found that the institution to which he alluded is Manhattan College, which has recently obtained a charter from the Regents of the University of New York. It was quite a distance out of our way, for he too was going to Washington; but neither was sorry for the trip. Manhattan College is a Catholic institution, under the direction of the Christian Brothers, and my Gallic friend, as well as myself, is a Protestant. Had we entertained prejudices on this account, which indeed neither did, they would soon have been dispelled by the kind manner in which we were received by the Brothers; especially by the Rector and Sub-Rector, who expressed a wish that we should examine the principal classes, in such branches of study as we took most interest in. This invitation we were glad to accept. Never was your correspondent more agreeably surprised than by the facility and accuracy with which the more advanced students rendered difficult passages in the Greek and Latin classics—a feeling in which my friend fully participated. From the department of the languages we passed to that of the sciences. Both had devoted some years to the study of Mathematics—especially to geometry and algebra—but some of the youngest students were able to solve our most difficult propositions. 'The fewer questions we propose to this class,' whispered Monsieur, the better; '*il faut passer à l'autre salle.*' So we did pass on without much delay; and the next place into which we are ushered is a long spacious hall, where we find some fifty students practising music on almost as many different instruments, and forming a circle, in the centre of which stands the Professor of Music, baton in hand. This was by no means the least interesting part of the exercises; for the amateur band executed a series of pieces which astonished us pretty nearly as much as the mathematical demonstrations we had witnessed in the scientific department. All seemed to find the transition from Greek, Latin, or English composition, or from the solution of difficult problems in geometry, or trigonometry, &c., to the execution of a spirited patriotic air or a stirring war-song very agreeable. 'Never again will I say that music should not be taught in colleges,' said Monsieur, '*Jamais, jamais!*' * * * To this I need hardly add that of the three institutions which we visited on our way to this city, Manhattan College is decidedly the one whose system is most thorough, and to which we would prefer to send our own sons."

We may now observe, that there are none of the good features of a college which Manhattan College does not possess—we mean those of a moral as well as of a literary and scientific character. In other words, as far as we have been able to see, (and our impressions are the results of a thorough examination,) the students are exposed to none of those vices which so often

deter parents and guardians from placing their sons in any public institution, where they are entirely beyond their own supervision. Even Locke entertained fears of this kind. "If," he says in his celebrated Treatise on Education, "I keep my son at home, he is in danger of becoming my young master; if I send him abroad, it is scarce possible to keep him from the reigning contagion of rudeness and vice. He will, perhaps, be more innocent at home, but more ignorant of the world, and more sheepish when he comes abroad." Elsewhere, however, the same philosopher observes: "I feel assured that of every hundred men, there are at least ninety who are what they are, good or bad, useful or injurious to society, according to the instruction which they have received. It is on education the great difference we see between them depends." We feel assured that could the author of the Essay on Human Understanding have visited the institution under consideration, observed its teachings and become acquainted with the learned, unassuming and amiable Brothers who have charge of it, he would have no fear that his son would prove either rude or vicious.*

* Not, however, because they belong to a religious fraternity. Men may become Fathers as well as Brothers, sometimes, and be both vicious and rude; although we cheerfully admit that such an anomaly rarely happens. In all our travels, in Europe and America, we have never met but one, and that one in this city—not many blocks from where these lines are penned. With this solitary exception our relations with both Fathers and Brothers—especially with those engaged in education—have been of the most agreeable character. Indeed, to many of each we are indebted for kindnesses never to be forgotten; but we cannot better illustrate the case alluded to, than by transcribing the following passage from an eminent author: "Going one day to Orleans," says Montaigne, "I met in the plain, on this side Clery, two pedants travelling to Bordeaux, about fifty paces distant from one another, and a good way farther behind them, I saw a troop of horse with a gentleman at the head of them, the late Monsieur le Compte de la Rouchefoucault. One of my people inquired of the foremost of these Domines who that gentleman was that came after him; he not having seen the train that followed after, and thinking my man meant *his companion*, pleasantly answered: 'He is *not a gentleman; he is a grammarian, and I am a logician.*'"—*Œuvres de Montaigne*, Tome i., p. 257.

True, the Father to whom we refer is neither a grammarian nor a logician, nor yet a Frenchman; but a professor of mathematics, a treasurer, and a Canadian. Because he has got a position in a college, not for his learning or his piety, but for his father's money, and is allowed "his own way" through the same potent agency, he fancied he had a right to read us a Canadian lecture, because we ventured to make some remarks in our journal relative to the institution of which he is so distinguished an ornament, without having asked his advice or instructions on the subject. Had he communicated to us his high displeasure in grammatical language, we do not know but we might have regarded it as a wholesome punishment; as it is, we confess it rather amused us than otherwise, and we have preserved the document as a curiosity of literature. We do not know whether the ferula is still in use in his department; if we thought it were, we should fear that his pupils would get far more stripes—at least more *abuse* at his hands—than either scientific or grammatical instruction. Our classical readers will remember an old Latin poem, by Ravisius Textor, who was once Rector of the University of Paris, in which two pedagogues are brought before Radamanthus for judgment, and the judge of the dead asks:

Quid prior hic *sceleris* fecit?

It was a visit to a similar institution which prompted Diderot to write the finest passage in all his works—a passage forcibly recalled to our minds while passing from one class to another at Manhattan College. Nay, Voltaire himself, the arch-scoffer, as well as Diderot, might have expressed himself as follows, could he have witnessed the scene alluded to; it would at least have softened that sarcastic bitterness with which he always spoke of the monks. "I call essential cognizances," says Diderot, "those which have real and necessary objects in all states, in all times, and to which nothing can be added, since they comprehend all which man ought to know and do, under pain of being degraded and unfortunate. They are limited to three: 1, religion, by which we should commence, continue and finish, because we are of God, through him and for him; 2, the moral law, by which we learn to know ourselves and others, what we can do and what we ought to do in the various circumstances in which it pleases Providence to place us; 3, physics, in order to form an idea of nature and her operations, of our own body, and of what affords health or restores it, and of the divers arts which increase our comfort in preventing *ennui*. * * * Man has a soul to make perfect, duties to observe, and another life to prepare for. He is under the hand of God, bound to society, and charged with the care of himself. But the first command of God is, that we render him homage with all our faculties, in laboring according to the order of Providence. The first law of all society is, that we ought to be useful to it, in order to purchase by services the advantages which it procures us. The first advice of self-love is to augment its well-being, by the ease which reason permits, *and by the consideration which merit elicits*. One must then abjure his destiny and his existence if he does not know the works of God, and the worship which He requires, the *rights of nature, and the re-*

LACHESIS.

Affixit rigidis corpora verberibus.
Hic juvenum scapulas *mutilavit* et ossa flagellis,
Elicuit rivos *sanguinis* ex humeris,
Nec timuit pedibus pueros calcare tenellos,
Nec croceam manibus vellere cæsariem.

The champion of the ferula cries for mercy; but Radamanthus answers:

Sceleste!

Andebis veniam quarrere? perje *miser!*
Clausus in obscura baratri fornace latebis,
Fœda veneniferi membra trahent colubri.

We omit to mention, on the present occasion, the institution to which the worthy Father Professor belongs; simply because we would not make invidious comparisons in connection with our remarks on the new college. But he need not think that he has succeeded in deterring us, by his coarse and vulgar conduct, from criticising the former; although, as a friend has suggested to us, we admit that it is too insignificant to be worth the trouble.

sources of economy, the laws of his country and the talents which it honors, the means of health, and the agreeable arts. We must adore God, love Him, and labor to serve Him through time and eternity. Religion, morality, physics, these three objects represent themselves unceasingly, and never separate."*

Nowhere is "moral suasion" practised more successfully than at Manhattan College. We believe that no corporal punishment is ever inflicted on any of its pupils; but more orderly, gentle, or better behaved youths it has never been our privilege to examine anywhere. The influence of the Brothers over them is unbounded; they have only to point their finger, or shake their head, if the slightest levity is indulged during class hours. We thought this all the more remarkable from the fact that no professors are more cheerful towards their pupils than the Brothers; none assume less gravity, or are more willing to do justice to a sally of wit or humor. In short, their conduct is the reverse of being severe or ascetic, and they are as ready to answer as they are to propose questions. Nor do they evince any unwillingness to allow the students "to doubt as well as know."

Che non nem che saper, dubbiar m'aggrada.†

These remarks remind us of one of the many prejudices entertained against the monks by those who would be as unwilling as any to do them injustice, but have never taken the trouble to investigate the facts. Forgetting that it is to the labors of the monks in the recesses of their cloisters—labors performed without the stimulant of either fame or pecuniary recompense —we owe not only the best editions of the Greek and Latin classics, but also the best ancient treatises on the natural sciences. They it was who preserved both with jealous care, and who produced many works themselves characterized by the true classic spirit. Yet how many well-meaning people attribute to the monks all the harshness and cruelty with which it was formerly the general habit of teachers to treat children! The mistake is, that we blame the Christian teachers for conduct that was the necessary consequence of the barbarity and rudeness of our Gothic and Celtic ancestors. Controversial writers have found little trouble in casting the odium of this, as well as of many other bad habits, on the ministers of the old religion. All the argument it has been necessary to use is, that "the Church of Rome is essentially tyrannical." Those who only read a certain class of newspapers are abundantly satisfied with syllogisms of this kind; and hence it is that we

* *Œuvres de* DIDEROT, Tome v., pp. 17-18. † Dante, Inferno, 1. 93.

find so many who regard the general disuse of corporal punishment as one of the peculiar blessings for which we are indebted to the Reformation; whereas the truth is, that both Luther and Calvin were among the most zealous defenders of the old system. Each conscientiously believed that to spare the rod was to spoil the child. In short, justice requires that we should admit that, before there was any Reformation, strenuous efforts had been made by dignitaries of the Catholic Church to mitigate, if not entirely abolish, the cruelties of the pedagogues. As one fact has more force than a dozen of assertions, we will here note an illustrative instance.

It is recorded of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, who flourished in the middle of the eleventh century—centuries before Luther or Calvin was born—that in a conversation with one of his teachers, he was asked by the latter what was to be done with some of the boys under his charge, "for," said he, "they are grievously perverse, and, I fear, incorrigible; *we never cease beating them, day and night*, and yet they are always worse than they were before." "What!" replied Anselm, "you never cease beating them! And what sort of persons do they turn out to be when they grow up?" "Stupid and brutal," said the pedagogue. "Then," added the Archbishop, "how well have you bestowed all your pains in education when you have educated human beings so as to make brutes of them!" * * * "We use all means of compelling them, and yet they make no proficiency." "For *compelling* them!" repeated Anselm. "Tell me, I pray you, if you planted a young tree in your garden, and were presently to shut it up so closely, on every side, that it could nowhere push out its branches, what sort of a sapling would it prove to be when, at the year's end, you came to set it free? Truly a worthless one, with crooked and intertangled boughs. * * They who suffer under this injudicious oppression acquire such evil thoughts and desires, which grow up like thorns in their minds; and these they feed and cherish until they have acquired such strength as to resist obstinately every means which you can possibly administer for correcting them." The good bishop presented the question in various forms. "Admitting," he says, "that your intention is to form them to good manners *by blows and stripes;* did you ever know a goldsmith form a plate of gold or silver into a goodly shape by *hammering* it? I think not, indeed! But how then? To the end that he may bring his plate into the form desired, he gently presses it with his instrument, taps it gently and carefully, *and with gentle touches smooths and shapes it.*" "We endeavor to force on them what is for their good when we find they will not take it otherwise." "*Bene quidem,*" replied Anselm.

"Bread or any kind of solid food is good and wholesome for those who are able to eat it; but take an infant from the breast and give it him instead of his natural food, and you will see him *choked by it rather than comforted and delighted.*"* The champion of the ferula was convinced at last; he recognized the injudiciousness as well as the cruelty of the system he had hitherto pursued, and, falling at the bishop's feet, he confessed his fault and implored pardon for the past, promising that the language of argument and reason would be the strongest weapon he would ever use again.

The system of teaching at Manhattan College is excellent in all its bearings. Even in giving instruction in the languages much more attention is given to ideas than to words†—to general principles than to particular rules; and yet we have examined no students who can translate more grammatically or more accurately. Nor have we visited any institution in this country in which the students are more carefully instructed in the duties of citizens. Having remarked this, we observed to one of the professors that he was acting on the precept of Montesquieu, who says that "*les lois de l'éducation doivent être relatives aux principes du gouvernement.*" "Yes," he replied, with a smile, "or rather on the precept of Montesquieu's master," alluding to the Stagirite from whose well-known maxim the author of *De l'Esprit des Lois* has borrowed his, as the Greek student may be curious to see from the extract transcribed at the bottom of the page.‡

We probably should not have noticed this part of the teaching had we not remembered certain arguments used by the Know-Nothing journals of some three or four years since, when we used to be told that there were so many Catholic schools and seminaries in the country that the most serious apprehensions were to be entertained for the safety of our government, and of those institutions which are most dear to us. The conduct of the Catholics throughout the North—especially of the Catholic clergy—since the present rebellion commenced, affords the

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* *Life of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, by Henry Wm. Drummond, pp. 148—9.

† "Let the master not only examine him," (the pupil) says Montaigne, "about the bare words of his lesson, but also as to the sense and meaning of them, and let him judge of the profit he has made, not by the testimony of his memory, *but by that of his understanding.* Let him make him put what he hath examined into a hundred several forms, and accommodate it to so many several subjects, to see if he yet rightly comprehend it, and has made it his own, taking instructions by his progress from the institutions of Plato."—*Essays*, vol. i., 220.

‡ *Οτι μεν ουν τω νομοθετη μαλιστα πραγματευτεον περι την των νεων παιδειαν, ουδεις αν αμφισβητησειε. Και γαρ εν ταις πολειδιν ου γιγνομενον τουτο, βλαπτει τας πολιτειας. πολιτειας. Δια γαρ προς εκαστην πολιτευεσθαι.*

best refutation of the pretensions alluded to. We refer to them, however, much more because they may be regarded as a libel on the great cause of education, than because they did injustice to the Catholics of America, than whom we believe no class of our citizens are more warmly attached to our republican institutions. But we hope it never again will be said that superior culture is antagonistic to republicanism.

To refer again to Montesquieu, that philosopher tells us that it is in a republican government we need all the power of education: "C'est dans le gouvernement républicain que l'on a besoin de toute la puissance de l'éducation."† The finest piece of satire in all Shakespeare's works is directed against just such libels on the cause of education; we mean that in which Jack Cade condemns a nobleman to be hanged on the following charge: "Thou hast traitorously corrupted the youth of the realm in erecting a grammar school; and whereas, before, our forefathers had no books but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used; and contrary to the king, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper-mill. It will be proved to thy face that thou hast men about thee that usually talk of a noun and a verb, and such abominable words as no Christian can endure to hear," &c., &c.—*Second Part of Henry VI.*, Act iv., Scene vii.

Other writers of the same period found it necessary to battle against the same delusion. Suffice it here to mention Sir William D'Avenant, who maintained that it is a maxim sounding like the little subtlety of one that is a statesman only by birth or beard, that the education of any sect is dangerous to the state. "For," he says, "*ignorance is rude, censorious, jealous, obstinate and proud;* these being exactly the ingredients of which disobedience is made: and obedience proceeds from ample *consideration*, of which knowledge consists; and knowledge will soon put into one scale the weight of oppression, and in the other the heavy burden *which disobedience lays on us in the effects of civil war;* and then even tyranny will seem much lighter, when the hand of supreme power binds up our load, and lays it artfully on us, than disobedience, (*the parent of confusion,*) when we all load one another, and in which every one irregularly increases his fellow's burden to lessen his own." It sometimes happens, indeed, that college students as well as others learn notions that are productive of much evil—notions that occasionally prompt them to the commission of the worst crimes. It is but fair, however, to admit that when such unhappily occur, "Popery" has nothing to do with it. For ex-

† *Esprit des Lois*, Tome i., p. 199.

ample, no institution in the world has been more abused than Maynooth College, Ireland. There is no wickedness but its students have been said, by its anti-popery opponents, to be capable of; but who has ever heard yet that one of them has been convicted of a capital offence? Can the same be said of colleges into which a Catholic scarcely ever enters? Fortunately, neither in this country nor in England are any of the darker class of crimes committed by students of any sect. It is, however, different in Germany, where the odium cannot be cast on either "Brothers" or "Fathers;" but on orthodox Protestants. As an illustrative instance, we may mention the case of Karl Ludwig Sand, who was educated as a theological student at the University of Jena, and subsequently became a preacher in the high church at Erlangen. From the calm precints of his college he proceeds coolly and deliberately to Manheim, for the purpose of assassinating Kotzebue, for no other reason than that he was supposed to be the literary pensioner and partisan of the Czar. Sand had never seen his intended victim. Having been unsuccessful in identifying him at his first visit, he returns to his hotel and takes a comfortable dinner. The rest we leave the assassin to relate in his own words, as quoted by William Howitt:

"I was finally admitted, and Kotzebue stepped into the room from the door on the left hand. I saw him appear at the half-open door, and then enter as the door was quite open. I went about six steps forward into the room and greeted him. He stepped somewhat nearer to the door, and I then turned myself towards him on the side of the entrance. *The most fearful thing to me was, that I must dissemble.* I said that I had a desire to call on him as I travelled through the place, and after some *pro* and *con*, I added, 'I pride myself,' which Kotzebue probably interpreted otherwise than as I meant; then I drew the dagger, and continued—'not in thee! Here, thou traitor to the Fatherland!' and with the last word I struck him down. . . . . How many blows I gave him I cannot say; as little, which was the first. It was quickly done. I drew the dagger out of the left sleeve, where I had secured it in a sheath, and gave him several stabs on the left side. Kotzebue spoke not a word during the attack, only uttered a cry of alarm the instant that he saw me rush upon him with uplifted arm. He stretched out his hands, and fell immediately at the entrance of the room on the left hand, about three steps from the same. How I should have wounded him in the face I know not. Probably it may have happened through his holding his hands and arms before him, and moving them about. I held the dagger so that the edge was above the thumb and fist, and struck directly out, neither from above or below. Kotzebue fell together in a sitting posture. *I then looked at him in the face to see how it was with him. I wished to ascertain the effect of the attack, and a second time looked him in the face.* He continually winked with his eyelids, so that one could now see the whites of his eyes, and now nothing. I therefore concluded that he was not

dead; but I interfered no further with him, because I was persuaded that enough had been done.*

Were atrocities of this kind to result from the teachings of Catholic colleges or schools, then, indeed, there might be some reason in entertaining prejudices against them. But no such charge can be made. Nor do we mean to present the conduct of this cold-blooded miscreant as a fair specimen of student life in Germany. Nothing of the kind. The case of Sand is an exception. Men of culture rarely commit such crimes under the influence of any teachings, however bad. We have given it only to show how cautious we should be against doing injustice to any Christian sect—especially to the oldest of all; and that which, whatever may be its faults, we must all admit to have done most for the cause of civilization, and produced the most renowned scholars. But we find we must come to an abrupt close; not, however, without the remark that to all its other advantages Manhattan College adds that of as delightful and salubrious a situation as any similar institution in this or any other country can boast of.

ART. VII.—1. *Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical and Historical.* By MRS. JAMESON. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1862.

2. *La Femme son Caractère, ses Devoirs, &c.* Par Mme. LA COMTESSE DE BERTHOLIE. Paris. 1859.

3. *Household Education.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU.

4. *Women of the Nineteenth Century.* By MARGARET FULLER OSSILI. Boston.

WITHOUT doubt the proper study of womankind is woman. Her attributes, her governing motives, and the whole internal enginery of her being can surely be better understood, and more thoroughly sifted, by those who, added to the same instinctive bias, possess the practical ability to give name and expression to the emotions which, in those less gifted of the sex, amount to little more than vague dreamings. Female writers should, of necessity, devote the best energies of their minds to the enlightenment and entertainment of their own sex. Theirs is the right to use the scalpel fearlessly in probing wounds of whose existence and depth they alone can form

* The Student Life in Germany. By William Howitt, from the unpublished MS. of Dr. Cornelius. 8vo, pp. 157-8.

a just conception; and theirs the privilege to strike the tender chords of womanly sensibility in womanly sympathy.

But not to them alone is left the task of grafting fresh elements of poesy and philosophy on feminine understanding; and woman, "faultily faultless" or "splendidly null," has been the fruitful, and, we may add, bewitching theme of poet and historian from Homer and Herodotus, onward and downward, through every cycle of time, even to the half-starved fledgling of amatory verse of the present day. And why not? Tennyson says:

> "The woman's cause is man's; they rise or sink
> Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

Their interests are one, and their destinies woven of the same thread. Woman's hand ministers to man's earliest necessities, forms his later tastes, moves by his side "a thing of beauty and a joy for ever." She soothes his pillow in dying, and his last sighs are breathed into her ear. Woman's influence cannot be too highly reckoned. It has always seemed to us to be just what she chose to make it, whether for good or evil. Give us the state of female morality of any period, and we will tell you the prevailing spirit and tendency of the age. Nor does this idea suggest the argument that woman's character is moulded to suit the times; but, on the contrary, history will bear us out in saying that, as woman in her various capacities as wife, mother, or leader of society, has used her influence and position to encourage virtue and repel vice, so in a pre-eminent degree has she given tone and elevation to the moral character of the age, "by deciding the degree of virtue that shall be necessary to afford a passport to her society." It is related that Buonaparte asked Madame de Staël in what he could most promote the happiness of France; and her reply, "Instruct the mothers of the French people," is as much in point and yet as diffusive as if she had devoted a folio of political economy to the analysis of the subject.

History is full of sublime instances of the devotion of the sex. We will note one or two in passing, and choose those of ancient times, partly to do justice to the ancients, and partly because those of our own times are so familiar to our readers, that it is scarcely necessary to mention them. We learn from the pages of Tacitus,* that Pompeia Paulina, the wife of Seneca, the philosopher, furnishes one of the most noble examples of the ancient world. While she was young and beautiful, and her husband drooping with age, she refused to survive him, when Nero, his former pupil, condemned

* Annal., xv., 64.

him to death. After he had bid her an affectionate farewell she said: "No, Seneca, I am not a woman to suffer you to go alone on such a journey; I will not have you to think that the virtuous examples of your life have not yet taught me how to die; and when can I ever better, or more becomingly do it, or more to my own desire, than with you? and therefore, assure yourself, I will be with you." Nor was this any idle promise. She subjected herself to the same means of producing death that her husband had. That is, she had her veins opened; and she finally survived, only because the tyrant, afraid of the effect of her youth, beauty, and great family influence, caused her wounds to be bound up while she was insensible from loss of blood. Of a character equally noble was the wife of Pliny the younger. We have the testimony of her husband, who knew her best, in proof of this. "Her affection," he says, "for me has given her a turn for books, and my compositions, which she takes a pleasure in reading, and even getting by heart, are continually in her hands. How full of tender solicitude is she when I am entering on any cause! How kindly does she rejoice with me when it is over! While I am pleading, she places persons to inform her from time to time how I am heard, what applauses I receive, and what success attends the cause. When at any time I recite my works, she conceals herself behind some curtain, and with secret rapture enjoys my praises. She sings my verses to her lyre, with no other master but love—the best instructor—for her guide." It is true that all the great Romans do not speak with equal enthusiasm in favor of the sex; but on the contrary, none have passed a harsher judgment than the countrymen of Seneca and Pliny. Thus, for example: "Metellus Numidius, the censor, declared to the Roman people in a public oration, that had kind nature allowed us to exist *without woman, we should be delivered from a very troublesome companion;* and he could recommend matrimony only as the sacrifice of private pleasure to public duty."* But Metellus Numidius had probably met with the worst specimens. We have no authentic account of his having been married; but it is clearly proved that he was severely jilted by more than one of the Roman beauties. Be this as it may, his stock of gallantry must have been very slight; his conduct was very different from that of his brother censor, honest old Cato, or Mark Antony, each of whom allowed more liberty to his wife than the most liberal "model husband" even of the present day would be willing to grant. But whether he was right or not—no matter what cause he may have had to dislike the sex—sufficient testimony

* Aulus Gellius, i., 6.

remains in the history of even Pagan Rome, to show that self-sacrificing devotion and fidelity are no new attributes of woman. That her best qualities have been improved, however, by the humane and gentle spirit of Christianity, far be it from us to deny. On the contrary, none are more willing to render homage to its ennobling influence, although we believe that as long as the world lasts, there will be Xantippes.* Without departing from our prescribed plan of passing over instances that are sufficiently familiar, we may note the case of a Christian lady of the beginning of the seventeenth century—one as much distinguished for her piety as for her devoted affection for her husband. Thus, we are told that when the famous Grotius was condemned to prison for life, he owed his liberation to the tenderness and solicitude of his wife, after a captivity of little more than two years. On pretence of removing books which she said proved injurious to her husband's health, she was permitted to send away a small chest of drawers three feet and a half in length, in which the author of *De Jure Belli et Pacis* was concealed. Thus he was carried by two soldiers from the fortress. The chest was then removed to a distance on horseback; and the illustrious captive was set at liberty, pursuing his flight afterwards in the guise of a mason, with a rule and trowel.†

Our highest standards of female culture convey the same idea and tend to the same end. In an essay on the duties of American mothers our own Webster says: "Mothers are the affectionate and effective teachers of the human race. The mother begins the process of training with the infant in her arms. It is she who directs its first mental and spiritual pulsations. She conducts it along the impressible years of childhood and youth, and hopes to deliver it to the rough contest and tumultuous scenes of life armed by those good principles which her child has first received from maternal care and love. If we draw within the circle of our own contemplation the mothers of a civilized nation, what do we see? We behold so many artificers, working not on frail and perishable matter, but on the immortal mind, moulding and fashioning beings

* Whether the wife of Socrates was really as bad as she is represented, or not, we fear that there are those of her sex at the present day who are quite as provoking; and we think there are husbands who are quite as long-suffering as Socrates. It is said of the wife of James Ferguson, the astronomer, that one evening, in 1750, when her husband was delivering a lecture on his favorite science, before a large audience in London, she entered the room in a passion, and maliciously overturned several pieces of the apparatus. Her object was to provoke and mortify her husband, but all the notice he took of the occurrence was this: "Ladies and gentlemen, I have the misfortune to be married to this woman." Perhaps, if we could only know all the grievances of Xantippe, we should blame her less than her sister of our own time.

† *Life of Grotius.* By the Abbé de Falliére, p. 172.

who are to exist for ever. We applaud the artist whose skill and genius present the mimic man upon the canvas; we admire and celebrate the sculptor who works out that same image in enduring marble; but how insignificant are these achievements, though the highest and the fairest in all the departments of art, in comparison with the great vocation of mothers! They work not upon the canvas that shall fail, or the marble that shall crumble into dust, but upon mind, upon spirit, which is to last for ever, and which is to bear *throughout its duration the impress of a mother's plastic hand.*"

Harriet Martineau, in her work on "Household Education," gives a quotation from an English author in this wise: "I now repeat the opinion that every child born, not insane or idiotic, might to a moral certainty be trained to be a gentle, a benevolent, and a pious adult;" and then adds, "of the correctness of this opinion I have long ceased to have any doubt." It seems a broad assertion, and penetrates every phase of female education, since on them, as the earliest teachers of the race, would fall the responsibility, and to them be intrusted the morality of the future generation. Of the positive correctness of this theory we are not prepared to stake an opinion; it may, perhaps, be subjected to some modifications on grave physiological grounds. A host of *savans* favor the notion of a certain electric current of thought and a vital energy of mind, attained (as Mahomet's saints reach their upper paradise) by succeeding steps through a long line of favorable antecedents. Miss Martineau only claims for her subject gentleness, piety, and benevolence; but the same subtle influences are brought to bear in either case, and the gradations are proportioned to the moral force exercised in its attainment. Sidney Smith says: "It is certainly in the power of a sensible and well-educated mother to inspire within that period—seven or eight years of life—such tastes and propensities as shall *nearly* decide the destiny of the future man." We like this handling of the subject rather better than Miss Martineau's. It is not so decided in tone; leaves some margin for constitutional bias; confirms the rule, and yet admits of exceptions, without, however, weakening the principle.

It is a question how far woman's education, as at present conducted, will tend to this high aim. At no period in the world's history has woman occupied so high a position, intellectually, as at the present day; such is the boast of our civilization.* It is not now a question whether she can be taught

* True, we boast of many things to which our claims are not very well founded; and there are those who think this may be included among the number. At all events, we might mention many ladies, both of ancient and modern times, who have dis-

the abstract sciences and the elements of a classical education; but she is drugged with an indiscriminate jumble of dead languages and living sciences, mathematics and ethics, galvanized with showy accomplishments—all completed and set out in the world a matured young lady at an age when her elder brother is still with his tutor. It is easy to guess what kind of a rehash of intellectual knowledge such a woman will be able to serve up to her children, when, after a few years given to the bewildering maze of fashionable life, she assumes a new dignity among the matrons of the land. There is no doubt that woman is as capable of receiving a classical education as man. The trouble lies, rather, in that forcing process which oppresses the brain at the expense of health and a comprehension of her studies. American beauty is fragile; hence the undue haste in exhibiting it to the world. It strikes us, however, that this fragility is attributable to the same causes, and that, with a proper and gradual development of the brain-power, and a proportionate degree of culture bestowed on physical education, American girls might be made to compete successfully in health and strength with their English cousins. Mrs. Jameson treats the subject very truthfully in her "Characteristics of Women." As, for instance: "It appears to me that the condition of women in society, as at present constructed, is false in itself—injurious to them. That the education of women, as at present conducted, is founded in mistaken principles, and tends to increase fearfully the sum of misery and error in both sexes. * * * * * A time is coming, perhaps, when the education of women will be considered with a view to their future destination as the mothers and nurses of statesmen and legislators, and the cultivation of their powers of reflection and moral feeling supersede the exciting drudgery by which they are crammed with knowledge and accomplishments."

A woman's education, whatever may be the position she is expected to occupy in life, should be founded on such principles as would impart soundness of judgment, rather than excessive sensibility and a false refinement; that will give her definite

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tinguished themselves as linguists and mathematicians. Among the Greeks they not unfrequently occupied the first rank in the schools; though not in the famous Academy. One modern instance will suffice for our present purpose. Frisi tells us that Maria Cajetana Agnesi (born at Milan, March 16, 1718,) was mistress of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, German, and Spanish, and wrote treatises on the higher mathematics, including fluxions. In 1740 she published a pamphlet, the object of which was to prove "that the study of the liberal arts is not incompatible with the understanding of woman." When her father, who was Professor in the University of Bologna, was unable to continue his lectures, on account of infirm health, she was appointed by Pope Benedict XIV. to succeed him. We suspect that there are not many ladies of the present day, notwithstanding the great progress in raising the standard of female education which we give ourselves credit for, who are qualified to fill a similar position.

and healthy ideas of life and its duties; such a practical adaptation of means to ends as will make her respected as a woman and cause her society to be sought as an intellectual companion and equal, rather than the mere plaything of an idle hour, the ornament of the boudoir and ball-room—to be cherished and tolerated in an equal degree with a favorite horse or a pet spaniel, as is likely to be the result of an education in which accomplishments crowd out solid studies and habits of thought. What she wants, then, is such mental training as shall raise her from this level and further assimilate her tastes and intellect with man's. Her nature needs growth and expansion; opportunities for the full employment and cultivation of all her faculties, and the freedom to exercise them untrammelled by such barriers as mistaken delicacy would raise.

There is work enough for woman to do in every sphere of life, and we cannot but rejoice that growing opportunities are offered her for the cultivation and exercise of her talents in fields of labor hitherto considered inaccessible to female handling. That this is due, in a great measure, to the exertions of modern reformers and earnest thinkers, both male and female, is an undoubted fact, and ought to be their best reward. But the end is not yet attained; there is far more to be done before woman reaches her proper position in the progressive movements of the day. In most crowded and overgrown communities the female element prevails. It is especially true in all European cities. In the United States the statistics give the male population a slight predominance. But even here it is not expected that every woman is to be educated with a special view to matrimonial claims and a future married life. Many hundreds in every large community remain single through life, from various causes, and these are to be made independent and taught to provide for their own future. How is it to be done? Not by brain-work alone, certainly. Hand-labor is required as well as brain-work, and each ought to be made equally artistic in its several departments.

Enough has already been said and written on the dignity of labor. The subject has been dished up, theoretically, to suit every palate, but rarely made practical. To make it so, the workman who fashions a garment, or the artisan who accomplishes his work in perfection of finish, is no less an artist than he who works out higher aims in the higher departments of art; and each deserves, in a proportionate degree, the commendation of excellence. The trouble is, that in the one case it is merely work, and in the other it is dignified with the names of talent and genius. And this extends to and falls heaviest upon female labor. Teachers and brain-workers of every sort are elevated

by the depression of kindred workers in equally useful, but more humble, spheres. As, for instance, the *modiste* who arranges so harmoniously the colors of Miss Flora's evening toilet, or gives such exquisite finish to the adornments of the bonnet that encircles her pretty head and lends to it half its beauty, is no less an *artiste*, in her way, than the governess at home, who has guided the lady's taste, and educated eye and brain to detect beauty in harmony of colors and graceful outline. But the governess is entitled to consideration from her profession and acquirements, and the other is only a dressmaker. Now it is not expected that manual labor should be elevated above the purely intellectual, by any means, but each deserve consideration and respect, in such proportion as, we contend, they do not receive. Hence, girls in what is termed the middling class, when necessitated to earn their own livelihood, rush to the vocation of teachers, as more socially elevated, with totally undisciplined minds, and only crude ideas on the fundamental principles they profess to impart. Every woman is not fitted for promiscuous teaching, any more than she would be for a painter or a poetess. There must be a love for the vocation, and an interest in her work that will sustain her in the face of obstacles and discouragements, and an energy of purpose that will enable her to overcome them, or the result is a lamentable failure, in both teacher and pupil. It is this deficiency in quality and training that gives a male teacher the advantage over a woman in some departments of education. When a man chooses the profession of teacher it is usually from a particular bias in that direction. He applies himself to the thorough analysis of his subject; he takes it up as a life-work; draws inspiration from the highest models, and indefatigably labors to make himself proficient in his particular department. The result in this, as in every case between working and dreaming, is, that he attains the reward of his study and labor in a well-earned reputation, and the cry is raised that women are mentally incompetent to follow in his footsteps, when, if only the same amount of energy were applied in both cases, the result would be far different.

And here lies the key-note to this noticeable difference in male and female labor. In the one case, it is made the primary thought and object of a life: a man chooses his profession or his trade, with "Excelsior" for his motto—onward and upward; and a woman, (that is, the majority of the working classes,) that she may satisfy the demands of nature—food and clothing, till that "Godsend," (?) a husband, is found to relieve her, and transfer the responsibility of her maintenance to himself. Until woman can be made to realize that her efficiency rests on her

self-dependence, and that whatever tends to make her independent and self-sustaining conduces to her highest happiness, all the talk of the elevation of the sex, and the superior advantages of women of the present day, will produce but comparatively few definite results. We want work done for work's sake, and the higher advantages that are the rewards of earnest workers will soon be made apparent.

We do not believe that woman is hindered or debarred by the "jealousy" of man from any position she is competent to fill. On the contrary, we think that as she advances in intellectual and physical knowledge, he lends a helping hand, surprised, it may be, that she can accomplish so much, but not ungracious. "He cries with sneering skepticism, give us a sign. But if the sign appears, his eyes glisten, and he offers, not merely approval, but homage." "Whenever woman has herself arisen," says Mrs. Fuller, "in national or private history, and nobly shone in any form of excellence, men have received her, not only willingly, but with triumph."

It is a singular fact that women have attained higher positions in despotic monarchies than in republics. This may teach us a useful lesson; we may at least learn from it to be modest in instituting comparisons with other nations as to the relative influence of woman in different countries. "In every age and country," says Gibbon, "the wiser, or at least the stronger, of the two sexes, has usurped the powers of the state, and confined the other to the cares and pleasures of domestic life. In hereditary monarchies, however, and especially in those of modern Europe, the gallant spirit of chivalry and the law of succession have accustomed us to allow a singular exception; and a woman is often acknowledged the absolute sovereign of a great kingdom, in which she would be deemed incapable of exercising the smallest employment, civil or military."*

The question is hardly, then, what she will be allowed to do, but rather what she will do for herself. In how many ways she can be taught to go out into the world, and, discarding the old symbol of the wise, stand upright in her own strength. Nor would we fear this freedom if she were, in every sense, allowed to limit her own sphere; we think woman's nature would bear the independence without unsexing her, or depriving her of any of the attributes of womanhood. Quoting again from Mrs. Fuller, she says, "Were this freedom to come suddenly, I have no fear of the consequences. Individuals might commit excesses, but there is not only in the sex a reverence for deco-

* Dec. and Fall of R. E., by Gibbon, vol. i., p. 175.

rum and limits inherited and enhanced from generation to generation, which many years of other life could not efface; but a native love in woman as woman, of proportion, a Greek moderation, which would create immediately a restraining party, the natural legislators and instructors of the rest, and would gradually establish such rules as are needed to guard, without impeding life."

Such are the kind of women that we need; not necessarily those who can advocate their claims with the pen, but earnest, true-hearted women, who, in their various capacities, as mistress, teacher, and friend, have the courage and the heart to exercise their talents and employ their time for the benefit of the oppressed of their own sex.

Beginning at the lower class, it has been said that a good mistress makes a good servant. It is certainly true that a thoughtful, consistent mistress will invariably command respect from her servants; an important consideration in these days, when complaints are made on every side of the want of it among that class. If the mistress demands respect, the servant has also her right to be considered and adjusted. It is not enough to regard them as mere machines, working for your comfort and at your pleasure. They too belong to a common womanhood, and it is the fit office of a mistress to teach them self-respect by respecting them. The presence of an educated and true woman is nowhere more apparent than in the conduct of the servants of her household. Their manners are insensibly softened by her example; their stock of knowledge increased in valuable lessons of vast utility, of order, of cleanliness, of economy, and of household comfort.

There is another class—the shop-women—in whose behalf it is the right and duty of every woman of influence to contend. These are a class on whose rights it is evident the men have encroached; and it is clearly in the power of the lady customers and supporters of all large establishments to say if their clerks shall be men or women. It is more economical to employ females, and if the encouragement was given, by lady customers, as it should be, this extensive field of employment would soon be clear to them alone. A writer in an old number of the *North British Review* is evidently awakened to the fact, where, after quoting a stanza from Maud, on the same subject, he says: "If the tall fellows who wait behind chairs, or stand behind the carriages of the great, and the men-milliners who smirk behind the counters of our shops, were, by reason of a want of manhood for war purposes, absorbed into our regiments, and handed over to the drill-sergeant and the rough-rider, so as to leave more room for women in places where men

intrude, to the manifest discredit of themselves and our own social and commercial system, a state of war would, at all events, have one beneficial effect." One cannot help fancying the result of such an augmentation to the army of the Rappahannock, and the effect on female labor, in consequence of it, in New York alone. It would, indeed, seem to atone for some of the horrors of war. The establishments where "pretty waiter-girls" are advertised for with such glaring effrontery would be likely to suffer in consequence, we think, both for customers and attendants, and the girls employed by them emancipated from one of their most fruitful sources of temptation. It is not unusual to find women occupying honorable and useful positions in almost every department of mechanical industry. They are admitted to be book-keepers and financiers, as readily as they are found to be fitted for it; they are prominent in all our mills and factories, and have an established right wherever the sewing-machine is introduced. The perfection to which photography has been carried as an art, and the increased demand in consequence, together with an increasing taste for colored photographic and stereoscopic pictures, has given to woman a new branch of industry.

Lastly, but by no means least, are the conspicuous and much criticised class of "female physicians." We believe them to be the most efficient and proper practitioners with their own sex, and we hope the time may come when the care of female patients will be left chiefly, if not exclusively, with female physicians. But—and here we meet one of the most formidable objections in the whole range of female education. The road that leads to it is steep, and the proud Parnassus of their dreams, as yet, well-nigh unattainable. It is neither right nor safe that they should be allowed to practise without full opportunities for study and observation. And these we do not believe can be obtained until there are medical colleges exclusively for them, and female hospitals, where female students can perfect themselves by observation and practice. The initiative has already been taken. There are two or three female medical colleges scattered over the country. That they have great obstacles to contend with is undoubted; but they struggle on with praiseworthy energy, and as they are able to break down conventionalities, their sphere will naturally increase, though the process is slower than in any other department of female labor. Where much has already been accomplished much more may be hoped for, and we can only trust that their reward will be proportioned to the merits of their cause.

We had purposed, when we began this article, to sketch the

characters of some of the representative women of different periods in the world's history. But we have devoted too much space to other considerations of the subject; and perhaps it is as well, for women of genius, though they may reflect a glory on the age in which they live, are its representatives only so far as they make their talents and culture a medium for the improvement of their own sex, and indoctrinate their principles in their cotemporaries. Historical women, for the most part, represent in even a less degree the general character of the sex. Quoting again from Mrs. Jameson, who takes her characters from Shakespeare's heroines, and answers the question why she did not draw her illustrations from history, in this wise—"Women are illustrious in history, not from what they have been in themselves, but generally in proportion to the mischief they have done or caused. Those characters best fitted to my purpose are precisely those of which history never heard, or disdains to speak. Those which have been handed down to us by many different authorities, under different aspects, we cannot judge of without prejudice; in others there occur certain chasms which it is difficult to supply; hence inconsistencies we have no means of reconciling, though doubtless they might be reconciled if we knew the whole instead of a part." And we might go on sketching the women of historic fame, beginning with Sappho, the "Corinthian Maid," and Semiramis, as standing first on the battle-plain of female endeavor, and representing woman in literature, in art, and in politics. Among the women who have graced thrones point to Catherine of Russia, Isabella of Spain, (the friend of Columbus,) or England's Elizabeth. Or, we might conjure up such names as Madame de Staël and Hannah More. But it is not necessary; they are the world's own, and every woman can take up their history as a warning or a model for her own career. It is with the present we have to deal, and it is the practical we seek. Nor are we without living illustrations of womanly genius and enterprise, although there is a line in Tennyson's "Princess" that runs thus:

> "They hunt old trails very well,
> But when did women ever yet invent?"

ART. VIII.—1. *Antiquedades Peruanas.* Por MARIANO EDUARDO DE RIVERO y JUAN DIEGO DE TSCHUDI. Vienna. 1851.

2. *History of the Conquest of Peru.* By WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT. In two volumes. New York. 1847.

3. *The History of the Discovery and Settlement of America.* By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D. D. London. 1826.

4. *Primera Parte de los Commentarios Reales que tratan, De el Origen de los Incas, reis que fueron del Peru, &c.* Escritos por El Inca GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA. Madrid. 1723.

5. *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale. Exécuté pendant les Années* 1826–1833. Par ALCIDE D'ORBIGNY. Paris. 1844. (In nine volumes, folio.)

THE conquest of Mexico, by Cortez, and the subsequent conquest of Peru, by Pizarro, three centuries and a half ago, constitute the most brilliant episode in modern history. These feats of Spanish arms are without a parallel in the Old World, and they are the most surprising events in the annals of the New. Both have been illustrated with singular ability by two modern historians in our own language—one of them, Dr. Robertson, whose work, published seventy-five years ago, still continues a standard book on this subject in Great Britain; the other, a writer at this side of the Atlantic, whose fame has filled the land, William H. Prescott, who, availing himself of manuscripts to which Robertson had not access, has enriched the treasures of history and English literature with two classic works—one on Mexico, and the other on Peru. But though these historians have touched upon the antiquities of the two empires whose conquest they describe, it did not lie within the plan of either to investigate minutely the origin, government, institutions, religion, arts, language, traditions, and monuments of Mexico and Peru. Nor were the sources of information so abundant or accessible as to tempt them far into this field of inquiry. As regards the conquest itself, there was an embarrassing plenty of materials, for, in the ten years succeeding, numerous Spanish writers celebrated its glory. But the conquered had no alphabetical language, and the conquerors destroyed many of their monuments; while the natives, in order to deprive the invaders of the fruits of their victories, concealed by burying or throwing into the lakes their works of art in the precious metals, and whatever of a portable nature they deemed most valuable. At the same time, there is good ground for believing that they misled the Spaniards, as far as they could, on all points relating to themselves. Nor was it likely that Spanish writers would care to glorify a people

whom the arms of their sovereign had reduced to slavery. Two writers did them justice: one, Las Casas, whose narrative, however, is general, eulogistic, and far from scientific; the other, Garcilasso de la Vega, the greatest of all authorities on Peru, the source from which all subsequent writers have largely borrowed. His father, a Spaniard, accompanied Pizarro in the expedition, and he was born in Peru himself, in Cuzco, the ancient capital of the country; his mother being an Inca of the royal blood, both her uncle and grandfather having swayed the sceptre; a fact of which the historian felt so proud, that in the title of his book, in two large quarto volumes, he calls himself "The Inca." Being both of Spanish and Peruvian extraction, he ought naturally to be impartial, and his opportunities of information were as great as his abilities. The natives were friendly to him, and thus he had access to traditions and other knowledge from which Spaniards were debarred. The principal sources of his information were his mother, one of his uncles, and his own observations relative to the customs and religion of his fellow-countrymen. He proceeded to Spain, where he devoted himself to scientific and literary pursuits in the city of Cordova. At seventy years of age he published the first part of his *Royal Commentaries*, his most important work, and that which is most germain to our subject. It is divided into nine books, and describes the condition of Peru before the Incas, their origin, their history, conquest, and laws; the political and religious customs of the different nations which formed the vast empire of Peru; the state of science and arts under the government of its kings, and numerous documents relative to the language, geography, and natural history of the country. His work was first published in Lisbon, in 1609, fifty years after the author left Peru; but the manuscript was completed in 1570 or 1575, a time when it was natural that the descendant of the Incas should find difficulty in publishing it in Spain. There is another magnificient work of more modern date, *Voyage to South America*, by D'Orbigny, the great naturalist, published in French, at Paris, in 1844, in nine folio volumes, a large proportion of which is devoted to Peru.

The latest important work on the subject is that by the joint authors, Mariano Eduardo Rivero and Dr. John James Von Tschudi, one of them a native Peruvian, and the other a learned German, who travelled for many years in Peru. Rivero was director of the National Museum at Lima, corresponding member of various scientific societies in Europe and America, and for some time *chargé d'affaires* from the Peruvian Republic, near the court of her Britannic Majesty.

It was published in Spanish in 1851, and at the city of Vienna, in order to have the revision of Dr. Von Tschudi. It is accompanied by a beautiful volume of fifty-eight large plates, most of them colored, and all beautifully executed. When their work was finished, the authors applied to the Peruvian government for assistance to publish it. But the sum granted did not suffice even to make copies of some of the plates. It was published, therefore, at great pecuniary sacrifice. It brings down to 1850 our information about Peru. The authors say: "To study institutions so beneficent on the very spot where they existed; to examine their archæological monuments; to obtain an exact knowledge of their idiom, religion, laws, sciences, customs, as well as all that relates to the empire of the Andes, was the plan which we proposed to pursue by traversing the land of the Incas." Amidst great difficulties arising from political troubles in the country, bad, and even impassable roads, thick forests, extreme diversities of climate, and the total want of an itinerary or well-informed guides, who might indicate the localities or antiquities worthy of observation, they persevered in their design, and at length were enabled to realize their aspiration, and announce: "During some years we have studied ancient monuments, gathering with great solicitude all the curiosities of the times of the Incas which we could collect, and giving orders for the designing and painting of all those which were in the possession of individuals, whether Peruvians or foreigners."

Peru is by far the most interesting country on the American continent. Not only is it the land of the Andes, capped with eternal snow, of the Amazon, mightiest of rivers, of the condor, "messenger of the sun," and greatest of birds, of "trees which almost seem to serve as props to the vault of heaven," a land whose climate, with the other bounties of nature, render it a paradise—but it was the seat of an ancient and a high civilization at a time when most of the nations of Europe were still in a state of barbarism—nations which call America the New World. In one sense it was new. It was new to its European discoverers, who found there, to their astonishment, two polished states, two mighty empires, one of them (Peru) exceeding the other in refinement. Instead of small, independent, hostile tribes, struggling for subsistence amidst woods and marshes, strangers to industry and arts, unacquainted with subordination, and almost without the forms of any regular government, they discovered countries of vast extent, subjected to the dominion of one sovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wisdom and foresight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and security of the people, a gov-

ernment of fixed laws established, the authority of religion recognized, the arts essential to life brought to maturity, and even the ornamental far advanced to that perfection which is characteristic of the highest civilization. The ancient Peruvians possessed a knowledge of metallurgy. They wrought vessels in silver and gold, and ornamented the same with various figures. They had copper instruments and vessels in use, and had discovered quicksilver. Their silversmiths and goldsmiths had attained great skill, and chiselled and hammered the vessels which they constructed in an artistic manner, and by a method not known to moderns. They did not understand the art of gilding, but they supplied the deficiency by covering copper or wood with extremely thin leaves of silver and gold, which they knew how to fasten closely, even to stones. They also extracted threads from the precious metals of a desirable thinness, using them to imitate the fibres of the ears of corn, and weaving them into linen. They excelled in weaving, and knew how to tan leather. They understood the art of embalming. They had manufactories of pottery, and constructed elegant sacred vases, with designs, some of which were painted. Their architecture was superior to that of the greater part of Europe at the same period. They understood the construction of bridges and aqueducts, and their gigantic roads can only be compared with those of the Romans, which they excelled. They were versed in stone-cutting and sculpture, as well as painting, and they had poetry, good music, and the drama. In the construction as well as the navigation of boats they were superior to any people in America. While all others advanced no farther in naval skill than the use of the paddle or the oar, the Peruvians raised a mast, and spread a sail, by means of which their *balzas* not only moved nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity. They were partially acquainted with mathematics, and had a knowledge of astronomy, which was, in some respects, more accurate than that of Europeans, and they had a peculiar method of ascertaining with exactitude the solstices, by means of towers and the shadows from sun-dials. They had philosophers and *savans*, named *amautas*, who were all of the aristocratic orders; and these, too, understood the medical art—perhaps almost as well as it is understood to-day.

It is objected against the Peruvians, by Dr. Robertson, that they did not attain to a high state of civilization, and that they were a semi-barbarous people, as compared with the nations of Europe, because they were ignorant of the use of iron. The Greeks were a highly civilized people, and yet they used bronze, and not iron, for tools or weapons. The Romans, ranking

next in civilization, only used it partially for weapons. Bronze was the compound metal which they chiefly employed, as we know by the specimens of their weapons which have been discovered. It consisted of about seven parts of copper and one of tin,* with some mixture, of which we are ignorant, which rendered it harder than iron. The Peruvians adopted a similar compound. In the analyses made by Rivero of various instruments of copper, such as chisels, hatchets, he found silex in the proportion of from five to ten per cent.† Whether this mixture was the result of accident or design, does not appear; but the Peruvians probably possessed some secret for hardening copper tools, such as we possess for hardening iron into steel. Certain it is that they smoothly cut the hardest stones, which are to be seen in their architectural structures and statues at this day. In this art they excelled, and for three centuries the learned of all nations have failed to discover the mode by which, without instruments of iron and steel, they produced the raised work on rings of emeralds, on jasper, granite, basalt, together with cups, vases, idols of marble, porphyry, and other of the hardest minerals. Add to these the wonderful roads of the Incas across the mountains, which they levelled without gunpowder and without iron tools, breaking the rocks in pieces, and it is evident that the want of iron did not stand in the way of their progress in civilization and power. The Roman roads have been always regarded as the greatest evidence of a high state of civilization. Are they less so in the case of the Peruvians, whose "works are beyond comparison greater than the monuments of Egypt or the structures of Rome?" But Robertson himself admits that "at the time when the Spaniards entered Peru, no kingdom in Europe could boast of any work of public utility that could be compared with the great roads formed by the Incas." With these evidences before us, how is it possible to give credence to the assertion of Robertson that the Peruvians "were totally unacquainted with the useful metals?" Robertson only followed the celebrated French philosopher, the Abbé Raynal, who classes the Peruvian remains of art "among fables." But fortunately the ruins of the monuments, whose marvellous records dazzle the most prosaic imagination, will prove to remote centuries the veracity of the ancient historians, and demonstrate the empty conceit of self-styled philosophers.

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* Brass was unknown to the ancient Romans. Their *æs* was bronze. They knew nothing of zinc, and hence could not make brass. The Greeks and Arabians were equally ignorant of it. Zinc was discovered and brass made in the middle of the 16th century.

† Peruvian Antiquities, Chap. 9.

Robertson says "the use of the plough was unknown to the Peruvians." So it was unknown to the Germans until it was taught to them by the Sclavonians, in the middle ages. German writers admit this; and the very name plough, *pflug* in German, is of pure Sclavic origin, the word being *plug*. "About three or four hundred years ago," says Charles Knight, "from the times of King Henry IV. to those of King Henry VI., there were often grievous famines in England, because the land was very wretchedly cultivated. Men, women, and children perished of actual hunger by thousands; and those who survived kept themselves alive by eating the bark of trees, acorns and pig-nuts. There were no machines then. In the reigns of Henry IV. and V. of England there was plenty of labor to be performed, but the tools were so bad, and the want of agricultural knowledge so universal, that the land was never half cultivated, and therefore all classes were badly off."*

Now what does Robertson admit as to the Peruvians? He says, quoting from Acosta, Zarate, and Garcilasso, they turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood; and by means of artificial canals conducted with much patience and art, from the torrents that poured across their country, they conveyed a regular supply of moisture to their fields, and enriched the soil with guano from the neighboring islands. What was the result? "In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary necessity in social life, was more extensive, and carried on with greater skill, than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progress through the country, were so fully supplied with provisions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with few of those dismal scenes of distress occasioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were so often involved. The quantity of soil under cultivation was not left to the discretion of individuals, but regulated by public authority, in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful season was but little felt, for the product of the lands consecrated to the Sun, as well as those set apart for the Incas, being deposited in the public storehouses, it remained there as a stated provision for times of scarcity."†

In agriculture, ancient Peru certainly does not suffer by comparison with England three or four hundred years ago. Again, in the time of Elizabeth the English aristocracy ate meat with their fingers; and the queen herself being present-

* "Knowledge is Power." By Charles Knight. London. Chap. xii.
† Robertson's History, Book, vii., p. 237. London, 1826.

ed with a fork, put it away in her "cabinet of oddities," and continued the old usage. And this was at a time when the Italians and other nations used forks.* In the writings of Seneca, who lived about the time of Christ, mention is made of glass being used in windows. It was made in China, Japan, Tartary, and Egypt more than two thousand years ago. In the twelfth century the art of making glass was known in England. Yet it is very doubtful whether glass was employed in windows, excepting those of churches and the houses of the very rich, for several centuries afterwards; and it is quite certain that the period is comparatively recent when glass windows were used for excluding cold and admitting light in the houses of the great body of the people, or that glass vessels were to be found among their ordinary conveniences.† There were no chimneys in houses in England in the thirteenth century. Hence the curfew was called there *ignitegium* or *pyri-tegium*, and in French *couvre-feu*, (curfew,) the covering of the fire; for the fire was made in a hole in the centre of the floor, and when the family went to bed, and the fire was put out, according to the curfew law, by the ringing of a bell, the hole was shut by a cover of wood.‡ How was it that so useful an invention as a chimney was not thought of in England till it was introduced from the Continent of Europe? Was England, till then, in a state of semi-barbarity?

Among the other proofs adduced by Robertson that the Peruvians were not so civilized as Europeans, and therefore their empire fell before the arms of the Spaniards, is the fact that they had no alphabetical language. But they had, nevertheless, a written language, consisting of hieroglyphics and the *quipus*. But even if they had no written language, what then? Does it prove their inferiority? Europe is indebted for an alphabet and written languages to Egypt, and the nation to which Dr. Robertson belongs is about the last in that quarter of the globe which availed itself of such advantages, more than a thousand years after more enlightened countries enjoyed them. "What was the form of the Saxon language," says Dr. Johnson, "when, about the year 450, they (the Saxons) first entered Britain, cannot now be known. They seem to have been *without learning, and very probably without an alphabet;* their speech, therefore, having been always cursory and extemporaneous, must have been artless and unconnected, without any modes of transition or involution of clauses; which abrupt-

* See "Crudities of Thomas Coryate," an Englishman who travelled in foreign countries and brought back the use of the fork, near the end of the sixteenth century. Also, Goodman's "Social History of Great Britain."

† "Knowledge is Power." By Charles Knight. Chap. xvi.

‡ Reiske and Ceremon. aulæ, p. 145.

ness and inconnection may be observed even in their later writings. *This barbarity* may be supposed to have continued during their wars with the Britains, which for a time left them no leisure for softer studies; nor is there any reason for supposing it abated till the year 570, when Augustine came from Rome to convert them to Christianity."*

But the fact that the Peruvians were conquered by a handful of Spaniards still remains. How is it to be accounted for? It does not prove the superior civilization of the conquerors, for the most barbarous hordes have been always the conquerors of Europe. But it does prove the accident of the superiority of their weapons and armor, the Spaniards being at that time a warlike people, while the Peruvian empire had been long at peace, and the Incas did not feel the necessity of any better arms than those they possessed, which were equal to those of the surrounding nations. But this was an unexpected invasion from an unknown world. The Inca was taken by surprise. The Peruvians had never seen firearms, and their effects struck them with awe. When the Spaniards appeared, the superiority of their arms and discipline made them be considered, and actually rendered them for all purposes of war, superior beings. In the battles described by Homer, the only difference between the celestial and terrestrial combatants is, that the former cannot be killed. The same was the difference between the Peruvians and the Spaniards. A disputed succession, a civil war raging in the country, and allies wherever Pizarro moved, effectually aided invaders naturally considered more than human. To crown all, Pizarro's extraordinary courage was only equalled by his sagacity and perfidy, which prompted him to murder in cold blood the last of the reigning Incas. But the English nation, by the power of superior arms, were conquered more easily than the Peruvians, by an able military leader, at the head of a handful of Normans, who are their masters to this day. The effects of long peace and a high civilization had rendered the Peruvians less fit for war than they would otherwise have been; they were degenerate,† but they fought desperately when they realized their situation, and when it was too late.

We have already adverted to their works of art in silver and

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* Dr. Johnson's "History of the English Language."

† C'est l'avis de M. Humboldt, que le période du movement social en Amérique n'a pas dépassé cinque siècles. Quoi qu'il en soit, les deux freuds Etats que les mains violentes de Cortez et de Pizarre ont detruits marquaient déjà l'ère de la decadence, puis qu'ils etaient inférieurs, dans l'Anahuac, à celui des Ohnécas, et, sur le plateau des Andes péruviennes, à celui que les Aymares avaient autrefois fonde."—*Essai sur L'Inégalité des Races Humaines. Par G. A. DeGobineau.* Tome quatr., p. 276.

gold. We shall now add some details. One of the Spanish chroniclers who saw these remains, but whose writings are still only in manuscript, and for the first time brought to light by the researches of Mr. Prescott, gives the following description of them: "They had an artificial garden, the soil of which was made of small pieces of fine gold, and this was artificially sowed with different kinds of maize which were of gold, their stems, leaves, and ears; and they were so firmly planted, that though they had strong winds, they were not torn up. Besides all this, they had more than twenty sheep of gold with their lambs, and the shepherds with their slings and crooks guarding them, made of this metal. There was a large quantity of jars, of gold, silver, and emeralds; vases the likeness of earthen pots, and indeed all species of vessels, all of fine gold. They had also statuary and other larger objects painted; in fact, it was one of the richest temples in the world." Similar gardens were made in all the royal palaces and in the temples of the Sun. Francisco Lopez de Gomara says: "All the service of his house, (the Inca's,) both of table and kitchen, was of gold and silver, except a part which was of silver and copper, for the sake of strength. He had in his withdrawing-room hollow statues of gold, which seemed gigantic; and elsewhere, figures of natural size, resembling many animals; also, of birds, and of such trees and herbs as the earth yielded, and of such fishes as were found in the sea and in the waters of the kingdom. . . . In fact, there was nothing in the country which was not imitated in gold; and they say that the Incas had a flower-garden in an island near Prena, where they went to rest when they wanted to enjoy the sea, which possessed all kinds of herbs, trees, and flowers of gold and silver; *an invention and grandeur until then never seen*. Besides this, they had an immense quantity of gold and silver to work in Cuzco, *which was lost by the death of Huascar, when the Indians concealed it*, seeing that the Spaniards would take it to send into Spain."* Garcilasso de la Vega, the chronicler Cieza de Leon, Acosta, Gomara, and Augustin de Zarate, confirm these accounts, and add other descriptions which suffice to give an idea of the number of works of gold and silver of the ancient Peruvians, and of the singular perfection with which they were finished.

No less admirable was the progress of the Peruvians in the art of weaving and dyeing. Without a loom or any other machine, they knew how, by the most simple manipulation, to fabricate beautiful cloths, very artificially interwoven with de-

* *Sarmiento* Relacion MS., quoted in Prescott's History of the Conquest of Peru, book i., chap. 3.

signs and ornaments. They possessed the secret of fixing the dye of all colors, flesh-color, yellow, gray, blue, green, black, &c., so firmly in the thread or in the cloth already woven, that they never faded during the lapse of ages, even though exposed to the air or buried under ground.* There is no doubt that the art of embalming was known to the Peruvians, though some have concluded that the preservation of their dead is due to the climate alone. According to La Vega and Acosta, they had reached a degree of perfection which surpassed very much the skill of the Egyptians; among whom no mummies have been discovered, in which the fleshy parts remained perfect, the skin soft and smooth, and the features of the face unaltered, as in the case of the Peruvian nation. Tschudi regards this as an exaggeration; but says the corpses of the kings were better preserved than those of others, because the royal Incas possessed the secret, and no other artificial mummies have been found but those of kings and queens. Nor is it known what means were used to embalm, and what substances to counteract putrefaction and give a certain flexibility to the skin. It is generally believed that the other mummified corpses, "which are found by millions on the coast and in the mountains," had also been embalmed; but Tschudi and Rivero maintain the contrary opinion, and in proof mention the case of a mummy of a pregnant woman, with a seven months' fœtus, perfectly preserved, which they found in 1841 in a sepulchre of the natives, and have still in their possession. They hold that on the coast the heated soil and calcined sand dry the corpses; and in the interior the pure cold air and the dry winds do the same thing. Their dead are found in a sitting posture, with their faces towards the west. Grains of corn taken from one of the sepulchres, which must have been many centuries old, have germinated in Europe, like the wheat found in Egyptian mummies.† Many precious stones have been found in the tombs of the Peruvian monarchs. The plebeian families were buried in caves, fissures of rocks, or terraces formed by rocks. Sometimes they were buried in holes or graves, around which the natives heaped stones, and many of these tumuli are similar to those found in Asia and in North America.‡

But it is the architecture of the Peruvians that gives the best idea of the antiquity of their civilization. They generally used square stones, and also polygons. The exactitude with which they formed them was such that in the edifices the fronts and angles were so closely cemented that there was but the

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* Peruvian Antiquities. Rivero and Tschudi, Chap. ix.
† Tschudi. ‡ *Idem.*

smallest possible space between. The size of the stones is very different; ordinarily from three to six feet in height, and the same in length; but Tschudi says he measured some which were thirty-six feet in length and twenty-four in height. The question arises, how did the Peruvians transport such masses of stone, and raise them to the required height, being deficient in that mechanical knowledge which in our days so facilitates those operations. Tschudi says the answer is to be found in their social institutions. For the construction of private houses all the people assembled, and for the public buildings all the able-bodied inhabitants from one or more provinces; thus they supplied by the number of the people the want of auxiliary means.* It is an error on the part of modern historians to say that they did not use cement or mortar in their edifices. For the palaces, temples, baths, and all other buildings constructed of polished stone, they used a peculiar cement, composed of lime and bitumen, which has been lost; and for the structures of less importance they employed a mortar made of lime and coarse sand, as may be still seen.† Another error of modern historians is, that the Peruvians could not construct arches or vaults. This is contradicted by Tschudi and Rivero, who have seen both arches and vaults in the ruins of the old structures.‡ Garcilasso mentions a beautiful round tower which he saw in front of one of the royal palaces. The walls were four stories in height, and the roof was so high that it equalled in that particular any tower which he saw in Spain, that of Seville excepted.§ In order to give an idea of the magnitude and beauty of the temples of the first order, we will briefly refer to the magnificent temple of the Sun at Cuzco. "It had," says an ancient author, "a circuit of more than four hundred paces, the whole surrounded by a strong wall; the whole edifice was built of an excellent species of fine stone, very well placed and adjusted, and some of the stones were very large and lofty; they used neither earth nor lime, only the bitumen with which they made their edifices, and the stones were so well placed that no joint or mortar was apparent." "Throughout Spain," says Sarmiento, "I have seen nothing

* Peruvian Antiquities. By Rivero and Tschudi, Chap. ix. † *Idem.*

‡ In his Travels in Yucatan in 1843, Stephens speaks of an arch he saw in a ruined cloister there. He says: "This corridor has that peculiar arch so often referred to in my previous volumes, two sides rising to meet each other, and covered, when within about a foot of forming an apex, by a flat layer of stones. There can be no mistake about the character of this arch; it cannot for a moment be supposed that the Spaniards constructed anything so different from their known rules of architecture; and beyond doubt, it formed part of one of those mysterious buildings which have given rise to so much speculation, the construction of which has been ascribed to the most ancient people in the Old World, and to races lost, perished, and unknown."

§ Comment. Royal, II., Chap. 32.

which may be compared with these walls and the laying of these stones, but the tower which is called the Callohora, contiguous to the bridge of Cordova; and another work which I saw in Toledo, when I went to present the first part of my chronicle to the Prince Don Philip."*

The system of fortifications of the ancient Peruvians is admirable, and attests a high degree of intelligence. Throughout the empire were innumerable fortresses, so advantageously placed that they would do honor to the skill of modern engineers. The largest of them was that at the capital of the empire.

"It was built on a rough ridge, a little to the north of the city; the declivity of the ridge was on one side very steep, defended only by a small wall sufficiently high, and more than a thousand feet in length; but it was towards the north that the declivity gently lost itself in the plain, and it was the point most easily attacked. It was protected by three walls, one behind the other, and with projecting angles of more than twenty yards; these walls were semicircular, and connected with the wall of the south, and were as long as that was, constructed in a Cyclopian manner; that is, of immense polyangular stones, which were perfectly fitted the one to the other, without any perceptible mortar. These huge masses were rough, excepting at the joints; the edges for about the width of a hand were finely cut, so that the polished lines of the joints in the centre of the mass produced a very beautiful effect. Most wonderful is the extraordinary size of the stones which compose these walls, some being fifty feet in length, twenty-two in height, and six in width."†

The hydraulic system among the ancient Peruvians deserves our attention almost as much as their architecture. They made open canals and subterranean aqueducts of wonderful extent, overcoming with great skill all the obstacles which nature opposed, with a view of fertilizing their arid fields. Garcilasso says of them: "We may compare these canals to the greatest works which the world has seen, and *give them the first place*, considering the lofty sierras over which they are carried and the large stones which they broke, without instruments of steel or iron."‡

But the most stupendous works of all were the royal roads, built in deserts, over shifting sands, reflecting the rays of a burning sun, and over the loftiest mountains and deep chasms bordered by frightful precipices. "There were two royal roads from the city of Quito to that of Cuzco, very costly and noble works; the one over the mountains, and the other across the plains. That which crossed the plains was walled on both

* *Sarmiento*, Relacion MS., Chap. xxiv., quoted in Prescott's Conquest of Peru, Book I., Chap. iii.
† Peruvian Antiquities, by Rivero and Tschudi.
‡ Royal Com., I., Book v., Chap. 24.

sides, and was twenty-five feet broad, with ditches of water outside, and planted with trees. That which was over the mountains was also twenty-five feet wide, cut in some places from the live rock, and in others made of stone and lime; it was a work which, as all agree, exceeded the monuments of Egypt and the paved ways of the Romans, and indeed all other ancient works."* Don Juan de Velasco, a priest of Quito, says these roads exceeded two thousand miles each. †

Such are the marvels of Peru under the Incas. But a very ancient civilization existed on the shores of lake Titicaca long before the appearance of the first Inca of Peru. The principal remains are to be found at Tiahuanaco, near the southern shore of the lake. M. de Castelneau mentions two colossal statues of a man and a woman crowned with a kind of turban; a colossal head and a lizard carved on blocks of stone; a great conical artificial hill; and a monolithic doorway, the upper part of which is covered with very curious sculpture. In the centre there is a figure representing the sun, and on each side a number of figures all turned towards it with wings, and having sceptres in their hands; those on one side with their heads crowned, and those on the other with heads of griffins, and the bodies adorned with garlands of human heads, like the image of the Hindoo god, Siva. All who have visited these ruins consider them to be of a distinct character from those of Cuzco and the other works of the Incas. The stones are more richly carved, and many of them have been united by means of a metal poured into transverse grooves. M. de Castelneau* considers that the chief characteristic of Aymara ruins is the minute detail in the carving on the stones, while that of the Incas consists in the grand simplicity of the masonry. "Without doubt," say Rivero and Tschudi, "those which count more centuries than any other remains of Peruvian antiquity are the ruins of Tiahuanaco, which, according to history, were erected in a single night by an invisible hand." Most worthy of notice among these ruins are the fragments of the statues of stone, of which, says Cieza de Leon: "In front of this hill are two idols of stone cut in the human form, very excellently done, and formed so well that it seems they must have come from the hands of great artificers or masters. They are so large that they seem like small giants, and it is plain that they have a species of large garment, different from that which we now see among the natives of these provinces. Their heads seemed to contain their chief ornament." According to Tschudi, "The sculpture is

* Lopez de Gomara, Hist. Gen., Cap. 194.
† Hist. del Reyno de Quito, Tome ii., Part ii., p. 59.

very remarkable, and bears no resemblance whatever to what is known of other nations. No less worthy of attention is the monolithic doorway of sandstone, sufficiently well preserved, the height of which is ten feet and the width thirteen. In this block is found cut a door, six feet four inches high and three feet two inches wide. It presents on its eastern side a cornice, in the middle of which is observed a human figure. The head is almost square, and there proceed from it several rays, among which are distinguished four snakes. The arms are open, and each hand holds a snake with a crowned head. The body is covered with an embroidered garment, and the short feet repose upon a pedestal, also ornamented with symbolical figures. On each side of this figure is seen in the cornice a certain number of small squares in rows, each one containing a human figure in profile, in the position of going with a species of walking-stick in the hand; those of the middle row differ from those of the upper and lower ones." Of the other ruins here, this writer observes, that "the great size of the sculptured stones with which they are constructed is very remarkable."

On the islands of Titicaca and Coati, both in the lake Titicaca, where, according to tradition, fell the first rays of the Sun to illumine the world after the deluge, and where the beneficent orb sent his favorite children, Manco-Capac and Mama Oello, to civilize the barbarous hordes of Peru, there are also extensive ruins, the remains of temples and convents, of virgins dedicated to the worship of the Sun and Moon. They are well preserved, and are of hewn stone, with windows and doors, posts and threshholds of hewn stone also, these being wider below than above.

Mr. Markham visited in 1860 the ruins of Tillustani, where the great cemetery of the chiefs of the Aymara tribes appears to have been. A high, rocky table-land juts out into the lake so as to form a peninsula, which is literally covered with places of sepulture. Four of them are towers of finely-cut masonry, equal to that of Cuzco, with the sides of the stones dovetailing into each other. On climbing up the steep rocky path which leads to the table-land, Mr. M. found on his right the first tower perched on the very edge of the precipice. Half of it is destroyed; the other half is of well-cut stones, with a broad, rounded cornice, near the summit, and a vaulted roof, part of which remains entire. In the interior, near the foundation, there is a vaulted chamber, entered by a small aperture, and full of human bones. The rest of the building was filled up with small stones and earth, having a hollow shaft, which ascended from the chamber to the summit, down which the bodies

may have been lowered into the chamber. On the left hand there is another tower of exactly similar construction. Further on, and near the range of the opposite and southern side of the precipice, there are two other towers close together. One is thirty-six feet high, and built of the same well-cut masonry, with a cornice and vaulted roof, and a great lizard carved in relief on one of the stones near the base, measuring six feet by three. The lizard appears to have been a favorite device among the ancient Aymaras. There is one carved on a block of stone among the ruins of Tiahuanaca. The other tower appeared to be exactly similar, but is now in a very ruinous state.*

On the comparative merits of the civilization that existed in Peru before the arrival of the Incas, and that which prevailed during the reigns of these fourteen monarchs, the following observations of M. de Gobineau,† who has profoundly investigated the subject, are deserving of attention, inasmuch as a popular error prevails that the Incas found the country in a state of barbarity and introduced civilization:

"La domination des Incas, comme celle des Toltéques et des Aztéques, succedait a un autre empire, celui des Aymaras, dont le siege principal avait existé dans les régions élévées des Andes, sur les rives du lac de Titiaca. Les monuments qu'on voit encore dans ces lieux permettent d'attribues à la nation aymara des facultés supérieures à celles des Péruviens qui l'ont suive, puisque ceux-ci n'ont été que des Copistes M. d'Orbigny, fait observer avec raison que les sculptures de Tehuanaca révèlent un état intellectual plus délicat que les ruines des ages postérieurs, et qu'on y decouvre même une certaine propensione à l'idéalité tout à fait étrangère à ceux-ci."‡

Nor was the civil government of the ancient Peruvians less wonderful than their arts. It was paternal, and unique. It is the only instance in history of a truly patriarchal government. The authority of the monarchs exceeded that of the most powerful kings of the earth. Their will was law. They united in their own persons the legislative and executive power, the supreme command in war, absolute sovereignty in peace, while, as "children of the Sun," they were the high-priests and oracles in religion. They exercised the highest power ever known to man, realizing the famous union of pope and emperor. Though the Inca had an unlimited number of concubines, sometimes as many as seven hundred, he had but one legitimate wife, called *Coya*, and chosen from among his sisters. This incest, however repugnant to our ideas of moral-

* See p. 3 of Travels in Peru and India. By Clements R. Markham, F.S.A., F.R.G.S. London. 1862.
† Essai sur l'Inégalité des Races Humaines. Paris, 1855. Tome iv., p. 276.
‡ D'Orbigny, t. i., p. 325.

ity and human nature, was the natural consequence of the estimation in which the Peruvians held their monarch. It was not peculiar to the Peruvians. It was the custom of various Oriental dynasties. Such were the Lagidos in Egypt. The object was to preserve the purity of the blood of a single family, and the absence of all foreign element necessarily impressed a type of physiognomy which enhanced the veneration of the people.* The descent was only in the male line, and all the male children† took the name of Inca, when married. The females were called *pallas*, when married.

The throne belonged to the eldest son of the legitimate queen, and the sceptre, according to Garcilasso, thus passed without interruption from father to son, during the whole period in which the imperial dynasty flourished. Some of the Incas left more than three hundred children. These, with the harem, the magnates, governors of provinces, savans, and poets, constituted the court, which, in the time of Capac-Inca, contained more than eight thousand persons. As in European countries, the Peruvian aristocracy derived its origin from personal worth and relationship to the sovereign. It consisted of five orders: 1st. That of the Incas of royal blood; 2d. That of the Incas by favor, that is, the descendants of the principal vassals of the first Inca; 3d. That of noblemen sprung from families distinguished for the valor, riches, science, or some other merit of their ancestors; 4th. That of persons endowed with the highest dignities; 5th. That of the priesthood. The noblemen of royal blood were educated by the *amautas*, or *literati*, and prepared for a ceremony resembling the order of knighthood in the middle ages. At the age of sixteen, they were examined in Cuzco, and required to be well versed in the athletic games. They fought in mock tournaments of such severity as always resulted in wounds, and sometimes death.

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* Les Incas reproduction affaible d'une race plus civilisatrice, arrivérent des montagnes en couvrant vers l'ouest toutes les pentes, occupant les plateux et agglomérant sans leur conduite un certain nombre de peuplades. Ce fut au XIe siècle de notre ère que cette puissance naquit, (D'Orbigny, t. i., p. 296,) et veritabile singularité en Amérique, la famille regnant semble avoir été extrêment préoccupée du soin de conserver la parieté de soin sang. Dans le palais de Cuzco, l'empereur n'épousait que ses sœurs légitimes, afin d'être plus assuré de l'integrité de la descendance, et il reservait, ainsi qu'a un petite nombre de parents tres-proches, l'usage exclusif d'une langue sacrée, qui vraisemblament était l'aymara, (D'Orbigny, tome i., p. 297.) Ces precautiones ethniques de la famille soveraine démontrent qu'il y avait beaucoup à redire à la valeur généalogique de la nation conquérante elle-même les Incas, éloiqués du trône, ne se faisaient qu'un tres-mince scrupule de prendre des épenses où il leur plerisit. Zontefois, si leurs enfants ancient avaient pour aineux maternels les aborigines du pays, la tolérance ne s'etendait pas jusqu'à admettre dans les emplois les descendants en ligne paternelle de cette race soumise.—*De Gobineau*, tome iv., p. 176.

† Garcilasso says, in his Commentaries, (Part I., Chap. xxxi., Book I.,) that to the *female* did not pertain the name of Inca; this title was therefore usurped by him for himself, as he was the son of a "palla."

They were compelled to fast, go barefooted, dress poorly, sleep on the ground, and endure other privations, both for the purpose of inuring them to the fatigues of war, and of inspiring a sympathy for the humbler classes. The novitiates were then presented to the reigning Inca, who pierced the ends of their ears with pieces of gold, and suspended from them enormous pendants, peculiar to their order, and so heavy as to greatly elongate and deform the ear. This, however, among the natives, was considered a mark of beauty and distinction. But the disgusted Spaniards gave the name of "Great-Ears" (*Orejones*) to those lords who held the first offices of the state, civil and military.* The name Peru was not known to the natives, though Montesimos pretends it is a corruption of the Ophir of Solomon.† The name which the Peruvians themselves gave their empire was *Tahuantisuyu*, signifying *the four quarters of the globe.*

The whole country was divided into four provinces of equal dimensions—south, north, east, and west. A corresponding road led to each of these provinces; and these roads started from Cuzco, the capital or centre of the Peruvian empire. At the head of each province was a viceroy, or governor, who ruled with the aid of one or more counsellors. Each province was divided into departments, not according to their territorial extent or size, but according to the number of inhabitants. And for the better administration of each, the Incas invented a simple system of subdivision. The whole population was divided into groups of ten, each under the command of a decurion; ten decurions obeyed one centurion; ten centurions, or one thousand inhabitants, had for chief a principal magistrate; and one hundred centurions, or ten thousand men, formed a department under a governor. Thus the monarch, seated in the centre, could overlook his most remote dominions, and correct whatever evils arose. The code of civil laws was as simple and concise as the punishments were severe:

1. *Avoid idleness.*
2. *Avoid lying.*
3. *Avoid stealing.*
4. *Avoid adultery.*
5. *Avoid murder.*

These were the five commandments of divine sanction. Every transgressor was to be tried within five days after the offence, no trial was to last more than five minutes, the sentence and its execution followed immediately, and there was

* Garcilasso de la Vega. Part I., Book VI., Chap. 24–8.

† Garcilasso says the word means a *river* in the native language, and by some mistake, the first Spaniards so called the country.

no appeal from the judge. All the arable land was divided into three parts; one belonged to the Sun, another to the Inca, and the third to the people. Each Peruvian received a *topu* of land, which was sufficient to produce the necessary corn for a married man without children. If he had children he received for each male child one more *topu*, and for each daughter half a *topu*. Upon his marriage the son received from his father the *topu* allotted to him from his birth. In cultivating the land a certain fixed rule was followed. First were cultivated the lands belonging to the Sun; then the lands of the sick, the aged, the widowed and orphans, and the soldiers in active service, whose wives were looked upon as widows. Those who were in need of grain to sow with received it through the decurion from the royal depository. After this the people cultivated their own land, each one for himself, but under an obligation to aid his neighbor when the charge of a numerous family or other circumstances required it—a fraternal custom which even at this day is practised by the Peruvians. Next in order were cultivated the lands of the governors, and finally those of the Inca, by the whole nation. This organization combines two extremes, socialism and absolutism, in a very singular manner. Only under an autocratical government, in which the chief magistrate is an absolute monarch, and at the same time a venerated pope, and only with a population essentially peaceable and agricultural, is it possible for such a system of socialism to exist.*

By the equal distribution of the land the Incas avoided pauperism, a terrible evil which devours the European states. Idlers could not live in the empire of Peru, since each individual possessed his necessary occupation; as little were there any destitute; and the equal distribution of the soil brought profit to the industrious and skilful only.†

It cannot be denied that such institutions were a powerful means to preserve the morality and social virtues of the nation, and that they were truly fraternal, since they united the citizens in one single family, whose members mutually assisted each other; and well might Count Carli say that the *moral* man in Peru was infinitely superior to the European.‡

Mr. Markham observed that on the banks of the Huascaray river the huts of the peasantry, amidst the patches of coca and maize, had no doors; showing the confidence of the inmates in

* Solo bajo un gobierno autocratico, en que el gefe del estado era á la vez monarca absoluto y pontifice venerado, y solo en una poblacioneson cialmente apacible y agricola, era posible este socialisimo.—*Antiquedades por Mariano Eduardo de Rivero y Juan Diego De Tschudi*, p. 75.

† *Idem*, Chap. iv.

‡ American Letters, vol. i., p. 215.

the honesty of the numerous passers-by, who go to and fro between Sandia and the more distant coca estates.* The same was once the case all over Peru, in the good old times of the Incas, as we know from the curious dying confession of the last of the Spanish conquerors, Marcio Serra de Lejesama, addressed to Philip II., A. D. 1589: "Your majesty must understand that my reason for making this statement is to relieve my conscience, for we have destroyed the government of this people by our bad example. Crimes were once so little known among them that an Indian, with 100,000 pieces of gold and silver in his house, left it open, only placing a little stick across the door as a sign that the master was out, and nobody went in. But when they saw that we placed locks in our doors, they understood that it was from fear of theft; and when they saw that we had thieves amongst us, they thought little of us; but now these natives, through our bad example, have come to such a pass that no crime is unknown to them."†

It only remains to speak of the military system of the Incas, in which the organization was as perfect as the civil. Each taxed Indian was obliged to serve for a certain period in the royal armies, and when freed from the service he returned home and took part in the military exercises, which were held once or twice a month, under the command of the centurions. The same subdivision of authority and subordination prevailed as in the civil government. Ten men were commanded by a decurion, fifty by a higher officer, one hundred by a centurion, and so on. Two thousand five hundred (corresponding to our brigade) obeyed an *apu*, or captain, with his lieutenant, and five thousand were commanded by a *hatan-apu*, or chief captain, who also had a lieutenant. The *apusquipey* was general of a whole army. When the Inca was at war with an enemy, or had the army in unhealthy provinces, he permitted the soldiers to return every three months, and mustered another army to take their place. In the greater part of the empire were found on the royal roads, at convenient distances, such deposits of arms and uniforms, that each one of these depositaries could equip an army with everything necessary. In crossing a friendly country the troops were prohibited from doing any damage, and the slightest excess was punished with death. "How different from our armies were the armies of that day!"‡ exclaim Rivero and Von Tschudi; and we may well add, "How different from our armies also!" The conquered countries were

* Markham's Travels, p. 227.
† Calancha, lib. i., cap. 15, p. 98.
‡ Que diferencia de los ejércitos de aquel á los de ahora!—*Antiquedades Peruanas*, p. 83.

treated with the greatest indulgence, the object being to incorporate them into the empire; and they obtained a better position than had ever been granted by any conqueror, ancient or modern, in the eastern hemisphere. The Incas imposed upon them their religion, language, and system of government, but they knew how in a short time to gain the love and veneration of their new subjects, which is more than can be said of modern states pretending to a higher civilization and greater refinement.

The question now arises, Who are the Peruvians? Are they aborigines, inhabitants of the country from time immemorial? or are they emigrants from the eastern hemisphere, like the white races who inhabit the United States? Is their civilization borrowed from Europe, Asia, or Africa? or is it of American origin and growth? The native American races have been traced by ethnologists to many nations; to the Polynesians, the Mongolians, Hindoos, Jews, and Egyptians, singly or combined. The most plausible theory is, that they are Mongolians, a race embracing the Chinese, as in religion there are many things in common, and as in Mongolians and Americans the hair is straight, the color black, the skin brown or "bronze," as Humboldt calls it, the beard scanty, the nose flattened but prominent, the space between the eyes broad, the orbits large, the cheek-bones high, and the forehead low and slanting. But there is one notable difference. In the American the eyes are horizontal, as in the Caucasian. In the Mongolian they are oblique.* Lawrence, in his Lectures on Physiology, holds that the Americans are a totally distinct race.

M. D'Orbigny divides all the South American tribes into three families of nations, of distinct physical types:

1st. The Andian group, including the Peruvian, Antisian, and Araucanian.

2d. The group in the central part of South America, including the Pampas and level plains, embracing the Patagonian, the Chiquitian, and the Moxean.

3d. The Brasilio-Guarani group, comprising the Caribi, the Guarani, Tupi, and Botocudo.

In these tribes there are marked differences, but most of them can be accounted for by climate and other surrounding circumstances, together with admixtures of foreign elements; while the broad, common characteristics of the American In-

* "Among the North American Indians there is scarcely any decided obliquity in the position of the eyes, which is so universal among the Malays and Mongoles; but Ibix and Martius have observed it in some Brazilian tribes, and Humboldt in those of the Orinoco."—*Morton's Crania Americana.* The Peruvians, however, according to D'Orbigny and all authorities, have the eyes horizontal.

dian are to be found in them all. For example, as D'Orbigny observes, the form of the Peruvians is more robust than that of other mountain tribes. The shoulders are large and square, and the chest broad, deep, and highly arched. The trunk is larger in proportion than among other Americans. In the extremely high altitude at which they live the air is greatly rarefied, and the lungs consequently require greater dilation in breathing. Hence the cavity of the chest receives from infancy and during growth an unusual development. The nostrils are wide and dilated, from the same cause as we find to be the case in the best breed of race-horses. The other physical characteristics of the Peruvian race have been carefully described by M. d'Orbigny. Their complexion, he assures us, has no tinge of red or copper color, which is assigned to the nations of South America, nor the deep yellow of those of the Brasilio-Guaranian race. It is the same mixture of brown and olive that we discover in the Patagonians of the Pampas. Indeed, the color of the Peruvians is nearly that of mulattoes, and their uniformity is very remarkable among all the men of pure race. The stature of the Peruvians is low. "We have never," says D'Orbigny, "met with any who attained a greater height than five feet three inches." According to D'Orbigny, who calls the natives of Peru proper Quichuas from their language, the features of the Quichuas are well characterized. Their head is oblong before and behind, a little compressed at the sides; the forehead is slightly arched, and falling a little back; their face is generally broad, approaching to an oval form; their nose is remarkable, always prominent, long, and strongly aquiline, as if bent at its extremity over the upper lip; the nostrils are large, broad, and very open; the mouth is larger than common, and prominent, though the lips are not very thick; the teeth are always beautiful, even in old age; the chin rather short; the eyes of common size, and sometimes even small; always horizontal; they are never oblique or raised at the exterior angle; the cornea always yellow, never white; the eyebrows long, arched, narrow and scanty; the hair always of a beautiful black, thick, long, very soft and straight. The Quichua nation is perhaps, among the indigenous races, that one which has the least beard. An ancient vase, which represents with striking fidelity the features of the present race of Quichuas, convinces us that for four or five centuries their physiognomy has undergone no sensible alteration.

"The Peruvian skull," says Morton, "is of a rounded form, with a flattened and nearly vertical occiput. It is also marked by an elevated vertex, great interparietal diameter, ponderous structure, salient nose, and a broad prognathous

maxillary region. This is the type of cranial conformation to which all the tribes, from Cape Horn to Canada, more or less approximate."*

Humboldt has remarked that there is no race on the globe in which the frontal bone is so much pressed backwards, and in which the forehead is so small. It must be observed, however, that the lowness of the forehead is in some measure compensated by its breadth, which is generally considerable. The flat forehead was esteemed beautiful among a great number of tribes, and this fancy has been the principal incentive to the moulding of the head by art. Although the orbital cavities are large, the eyes themselves are smaller than in Europeans. The heads of the Incas are extremely small, and the forehead very receding, which would seem to confound the popular ideas about phrenology, if men of that race be the authors of Peruvian civilization. Even to maintain such a system for five centuries must have required no ordinary intellectual ability. The phrenological difficulty would therefore remain. But both Von Tschudi and Rivero, and their translator, Dr. Hawks, doubt that the skulls from which Morton has taken his drawings are the skulls of the royal family of the Incas. It had long been believed that the peculiar shape of the Peruvian forehead was always the result of mechanical pressure; but Von Tschudi has found the same form in children who had died in the womb. In some cases, however, the pressure was used, as that form of skull was considered the most beautiful because most like that of the royal Incas. According to Dr. Von Tschudi, there is a peculiarity, an anomaly, in the Peruvian skull, not found in any other. It is an interparietal bone, (*os interparietale*,) which, as its name indicates, is found between the two parietals, and having a form more or less triangular, the sharpest angle being above. It occupies that part of the occiput which in other skulls is occupied by the upper portion of the occipital. With this exception, there is a general resemblance between the Peruvian skull and the crania of the other native races.

The Quichua language spoken by the Peruvians is regarded as the most beautiful and delicate of the American tongues. It has a system of numbers so complete that any arithmetical quantity can be expressed by it. It has a very perfect form of conjugation, and the moods and tenses are more complete than in many of the most cultivated languages of the Eastern hemisphere. Entire phrases are often expressed in a single word. The Quichua is distinguished by energy and conciseness, exceeding in this respect the most perfect languages in Europe.

* Inedited MS. quoted in Types of Mankind. p. 325.

And yet American languages are called barbarous! There are no native alphabetical characters to express the words of this language; but it has been adapted to the Roman alphabet by the Spaniards, and several grammars of the Quichua have been published. But unlike the English in India, the half-Spanish races of Peru have paid little attention to the history and languages of the aborigines within the present century; and if left to them, all traces of the language of the Incas and of the songs and traditions which remain in it would, in the course of another century, almost entirely disappear. A few honorable exceptions, however, must be recorded. The late Mariano Rivero paid much attention to the antiquities of his country, and the results of his labors have been published at Vienna. The clergy of some of the parishes in the interior, also, especially Dr. Dava of Pucara, famous for his knowledge of the language in its purest and most classic form; Dr. Rosas of Chinchero, and the curate of Oroposa, near Cuzco, are excellent Quichua scholars, but they are very old men, and their knowledge will die with them.

Owing to the diminution of the aboriginal population in Peru, and the constantly increasing corruption of the ancient language, through the substitution of Spanish for Quichua words, the introduction of Spanish modes of expression and the loss of all purity of style, that language once so important, which was used by a polished court and civilized people, which was spoken through the extent of a vast empire, and the use of which was spread by careful legislation, is now disappearing. Before long it will be a thing that is past, or perhaps fade away entirely from the memory of living generations. With it will disappear the richest form of all the great American group of languages—no small loss to the student of ethnology. With it will be lost all the traditions which yet remain of the old glory of the Incas, all the elegies, love-songs and poems which stamp the character of a once powerful, always gentle and amiable race.*

The ancient Peruvians had two kinds of writing—one, the oldest, consisted in hieroglyphics, as in Mexico. None as yet have been discovered on paper in Southern Peru; but Rivero has found them engraved on granite work at Arequipa, where they tell the story of events anterior to the dynasty of the Incas.† Under the reign of the Incas, in place of alphabetical characters, the Peruvians used colored threads knotted in different modes, and called *quipus*. It is certain that this method of writing was not original in Peru, and it is probable that it

* Markham's Travels in Peru. † Peruvian Antiquities, chap. 5.

was given to the natives by the first Inca; since in various parts of Central Asia, and particularly in China, it was the custom from a very remote period to resort to these knotted threads, as well as in Peru, Mexico, and Canada. The Peruvian *quipus* are of twisted wool, consisting of a large cord as the base, and of threads more or less fine, and of different colors, fastened by different knots to it; the difference in colors and knots, and the disposition and interlacing of the threads, expressing different ideas. Von Tschudi gives a drawing of one which he took from a cemetery at Pachacomac. In the neighborhood of Lurin he found one which weighed twelve and a half pounds. Even at this day the *quipus* are used for purposes of enumeration.

The religious and moral characteristics of the natives of Peru are generally the same as pertain to other American ribes, except that their religion was the purest and most sublime, and that they offered no human sacrifices like the Mexicans, among whom they were no doubt introduced by the cruel Aztecs.*

From the foregoing facts and considerations, it is evident that the Peruvians are aborigines like other American Indians, and not emigrants from what is called the Old World; though it cannot be denied that at various periods of remote date there have been such accessions to the American population, but so small that they have been absorbed in the general mass, and at most could only have slightly modified the native races.

But the civilization of the Peruvians is a very different question. That may have been introduced from other parts of the American continent, or from other continents. The Peruvians themselves say they derived it from a foreigner of the white race. So M. Gobineau: "Les Incas déclarent aux Espagnols qu'ils tenaient leur religion et leurs lois d'un homme étranger de race blanche."†

According to the historical paintings of Anahuac, or ancient Mexico, those records of antiquity, of which the traditional explanation was repeated by the natives to their conquerors and to Spanish and Italian ecclesiastics, three successive migrations to Mexico of three distinct nations from the far Northwest took place;‡ the first separated by the long interval of four centuries from the second, and five centuries from the third. The

* "Les Incas ne sont pas souillés des institutions homicides de l'Anahuac Mexicain; leur régime etait au contraire fort doux."—*Gobineau*, vol. iv., p. 278.

† De Gobineau, vol. iv., p. 283.

‡ See the magnificent collection of the historical paintings of the Mexicans by Lord Kingsborough, folio, London, 1830. The Abbé Clavigero, Professor Vater, and M. de Humboldt have endorsed the authenticity of these documents, and the interpretation assigned to them.

first emigrants were the Toltecas; among the tribes of the last migration were the Aztecs, who subsequently became the Mexicans proper, and built the ancient city of Mexico. These, in the eleventh century, drove out the Toltecas, who had constructed the oldest of all the pyramids in America, and left other works of art behind them, together with the Buddhist religion.

According to Prescott, the civilized Toltecas, retreating before their savage invaders, the Aztecs, spread over Central America and the surrounding isles in the eleventh century.* Morton and others are of opinion that this emigration extended to Peru, and that the Toltecas and Incas are identical, as the departure of the Toltecas from Mexico was soon followed by the arrival of the Incas in Peru.† There is no doubt that the Toltecas bore the same relation to ancient Mexico that the Incas afterwards bore to Peru, but the proof is not sufficiently strong that they were the same people, though they may have had a common origin. On the contrary, there is evidence to show that the Incas entered Peru from the south, and not from the north; and besides, there are material differences between the religion, the customs, the arts, monuments, and character of the two nations; though there is much that is common to both.

According to Rivero and Tschudi, "the race of the Aymaras was the root of the Incas, or Peruvian emperors, and to them is to be attributed that spreading movement from south to north, (attested by the history of these vast regions,) the consequences of which were the conquest of the adjacent nations, and the modifications and changes, both physical and moral, which, by reason of their conquest, the races who peopled them underwent; the Huancas, the nearest, being subdued first, afterwards the Chincas, and both the conquered communities finding themselves under the necessity of yielding to the rule of the strongest, and adopting the customs, religion, and laws of their conquerors."‡ In this respect Morton agrees with Rivero and Von Tschudi. He ridicules the idea that the Peruvians were conquered by any moral suasion, or religious

* Conquest of Peru, vol. i., p. 310. † Crania Americana.

‡ Schlegel, in his Miscellaneous Works, (Bohn, ch. iv., p. 453,) says: "It is clearly proved that the founders of the Peruvian kingdom migrated from the east of China and the Indian isles." Dr. Wiseman, in his Connection between Science and Revealed Religion, (Letter ii., p. 86,) and Humboldt, in his Researches, express the same opinion. Finally Don Mariano Rivero, in his Antiquedades Peruanas, says: "No admite duda que, Bochicha y Manco Capac eran sacerdites Budistas que, por su doctrina superior, y sivilizacion, consiguieron señorear los animas de los indigenos, y elevase a la supremacia politicia." This last writer further believes that Inca Rocca, the founder of the schools for the instruction of noble youths near which his palace was built, was the first native prince placed upon the throne by the foreign reformer Manco Copac.

conversion, and maintains that force was used from the first by the Incas,* and that it was not one Inca who came into Peru, but an army of Incas, just as Mahomet propagated his faith with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other. From the pages of Garcilasso† we learn that the Peruvians believed, from tradition, that the Sun, the tutelar divinity of their empire, had sent his own sons to instruct and reform them, and that from them sprang the Incas, or emperors.

In the reign of Huayna-Capac the empire attained to its greatest height of grandeur and prosperity, extending from the river Andasmayo, north of Quito, to the river Maule, in Chili, a distance of eight hundred leagues, surpassing by some degrees the greatest extent of Europe, and bounded in all its western territory by the Pacific Ocean, reached to the pampas of Tucuman on the southeast, and to the rivers Ucayali and Maranon on the northeast. This empire contained ten or eleven millions of inhabitants. The population soon diminished to less than half under Spanish rule, and now "the valleys of the Peruvian coast contain positively but the tenth part of what they contained in the time of the Incas ‡ The whole population of the republic of Peru, by the latest accounts, was under two millions.§ The laboring classes of the interior are pure Peruvians of the ancient stock. The artisans and shop-keeping classes in the towns partly of the aborigines, and partly half-castes or mestizos, of Peruvian and Spanish blood. The lowest class on the coast are negroes, or zambos, a caste between negro and Indian, with some imported Chinese, the upper classes being chiefly of Spanish descent with a slight dash of Indian blood, many nearly or quite half-castes, not a few pure Indian, and an exceedingly small proportion of pure Spanish descent."‖ The conclusion at which Mr. Markham arrives, after much observation, is this: "It appears to be a generally received idea in England, originating from the accounts of travellers unacquainted with the people and ignorant of their language, that the South Americans are a mongrel, degraded race, incapable of improvement and hopelessly degenerate. So far as my experience extends, and after a careful consideration of the subject, I can see no grounds for resigning the hope that a brighter future is yet in store for the land of the Incas."¶

* *Crania Americana.* † Royal Commentaries, vol. i. book v., chap. vi.
‡ Rivero and Tschudi, chap. iii. § Markham's Travels, p. 291.
‖ Travels in Peru, p. 289.
¶ Comparing the institutions, customs, ceremonies, and religion of the Incas with those of various Asiatic nations, it seems probable that the emigrants represented by three great reformers found their way to the shores of South America, Central America, and Mexico, from China and other parts of Eastern Asia; and this is now the generally received opinion of those antiquarians who have devoted attention to the subject.

ART. IX.—1. *How Precious Stones are Imitated, &c.* By JAMES L. WALSH. London.

2. *De XII. Gemmis in Veste Aaronis.* By ST. EPIPHANIUS. Paris.

3. *De Lapidibus et Gemmis.* By M. BŒTIUS DE BOOT. Paris. 1609.

4. *De la Méthode Antique de Graver en Pierres fines comparée avec la Méthode Moderne.* Par M. NATTER. Paris.

MAN, in all ages, has been fond of ornaments; a fact which is of much greater importance than is generally supposed. Were we to state in plain figures the amount of money annually expended on jewelry alone, we should seem to indulge in Oriental hyperbole. Those who purchase most, for their own use, would think the total far beyond the reality. And in no country in the world is more used, in proportion to its population and wealth, than in our own. In this respect the French, the Spanish, and the Italians are plain and simple in their tastes compared to ourselves; nay, the Persians or the Chinese are not fonder of jewelry.

It is not our intention, however, to make any effort to discourage a taste for the beautiful; the contrary is what we would much rather do. True gems have been admired by the wisest and most cultivated of men and women from the time of Homer—nay, from the time of Moses—to the present; but the counterfeit gems, however finely executed, have been despised by the same class with equal unanimity. They would have the genuine, or none at all. Solon told his brother-in-law that he would not believe a man on his oath who wore a spurious gem, knowing it to be such, and wishing it to be regarded as genuine; "for at best," he added, "it is a species of deception; and he who would deceive merely to gratify his vanity, would not hesitate to do so in order to gratify his avarice or his cupidity."

We do not believe the world has degenerated so much, but that there are a great many at the present day who regard the matter in the same light—probably the majority of the educated class. But the difficulty is, that so many wear the spurious article, innocently believing that it is genuine. And why should they doubt it? They have paid the price of the genuine for it. True, it does not sparkle to their liking; they have seen many others of much greater brilliancy. But do not the true gems differ in a similar manner? We have known many to reason in this way in regard to a "diamond" which cost from $50 to $500, but which, notwithstanding, is nothing more than a piece of glass or *paste*. This, when properly understood, will account for the fact that more ornaments purport-

ing to be diamonds are worn in this country alone than would make a much larger mass, if piled together, than all the genuine diamonds yet discovered in both hemispheres.

This, we are aware, will seem to many a bold assertion. Only the small minority will credit it; nor do we wish them to do so until they see some good reason why they should. The reader will first please to remember how many large diamonds he has recently seen—at the opera, for example—how many diamond necklaces, diamond bands for the hair, diamond bracelets, not to mention diamond pins, diamond brooches, &c., and then estimate their value at the cost of the native gems, and observe what a fabulous sum the total would make, bearing in mind, while performing the operation, that there are several houses in Paris and other European cities whose sole business is to manufacture factitious gems.

Thus, the largest diamond in the world, whose genuineness is beyond question, that which formerly belonged to the Great Mogul, is only $279\frac{8}{16}$ carats; its form and size being equal to about half a hen's egg. The estimated value of this gem is nearly $3,000,000. The next in point of size is the Brazilian diamond, in the possession of the King of Portugal, which weighs 215 carats, and is worth about $2,000,000. The famous Oriental diamond, which formerly belonged to the Sultan of Persia, and is now in the possession of the Czar, weighs only 193 carats, although it cost the Empress Catherine $450,000 in cash. The value of the crown diamonds of France, not to mention those worn by individual members of the reigning family, has been estimated by a commission of jewellers at 30,000,000 livres. Among the number is a single diamond called *Le Regent*, which is valued at 12,000,000 livres; yet if all were worn one evening at our Academy of Music, they would hardly seem so great a display to the uninitiated as the host of "gems" which may be seen there night after night, when the house is well filled. By this we do not mean that any considerable proportion of those who wear the latter are aware of their true character; on the contrary, probably the large majority have not the least doubt of the genuineness of their ornaments; although their faith arises from the fact that they have paid but little attention to the subject. Now, if our millionaires cannot afford to exhibit large native diamonds; that is, if they cannot get them "for love or money," how credulous it is to believe that those can who make no pretensions to wealth, or who, it is well known, can do little more than procure the necessaries of life! And the same remarks, but slightly modified, will apply to the various other precious

stones, especially to the sapphire, the opal, the ruby, the topaz, the emerald, &c.

We have already observed that jewels have been prized by the great and good in all ages. Belzoni and Champollion reveal to us the high esteem in which they were held by the Egyptians.* Throughout the Pentateuch they are referred to, in one form or other, by Moses. That they formed the chief embellishments in the breastplate of Aaron, we see from the 28th chapter of Exodus: "And thou shalt set in it settings of *stones*, even four rows of stones; the first row shall be a *sardius*, a *topaz*, and *carbuncle*. And the second row shall be an *emerald*, a *sapphire*, and a *diamond*. And the third row a *ligure*, an *agate*, and an *amethyst*. And the fourth row a *beryl*, and an *onyx*, and a *jasper*."† We learn from the same chapter that the artists of those days were capable of engraving on the hardest gems. "And the stones," continues the great law-giver, "shall be engraved with the names of the children of Israel, twelve, according to their names, *like the engravings of a signet*."‡

As for the Greeks, it is from them we derive even the names of most of the precious stones; namely, the *opal*, (ὀπάλλιος,) the *onyx*, (ὄνυξ,) the *amethyst*, (ἀμέθυστος,) *sapphire*, (σάπφειρος,) *beryl*, (βήρυλλος,) &c. We may form an opinion of the high value they set upon them by the exquisite manner in which their gems were engraved, that art having reached its highest perfection in the time of Alexander—a degree of perfection which it has never reached since, in any other country, however much we may boast of our discoveries and inventions, and of our general superiority to the ancients. We may remark, in passing, that the jewellers and lapidaries of the ancient world understood their business much better than their brethren of the present day. Generally scientific men themselves, or artists, they treated the learned men of their time with the greatest consideration. This will account for the superstitious veneration with which gems were regarded by the common people. Particular gems were imagined to hold peculiar relations to certain planets, constellations, and months of the year. The stone appropriate for a particular month was worn as an amulet during that month, and was supposed to exert a mysterious control in reference to beauty, health, riches, honor, &c. Thus, a *sapphire* was worn in April, an *agate* in May, an *emerald* in

* When the Egyptians had no gems on which to engrave portraits and other small objects, they did so on compound rocks, such as granite and porphyry. Several engravings of this kind, executed with wonderful skill, have been found in the Pyramids; but, so far as we are aware, the artists of no other country—except, perhaps, the Etruscans—have left similar works.

† Vs. 17, 18, 19, 20.

‡ *Ib.*, v. 21.

June, &c. In a similar manner, the *amethyst* was a security against intoxication; the *emerald* was an antidote against poison; the *ruby*, or *spinelle*, was a promoter of joy, a foe to all bad dreams, &c.* It is needless to remark that all this caused a great demand for the precious articles; and as the people were supposed to be nothing the worse for their faith in the mysterious virtue of gems, more than for their faith in fairies, perii, and other imaginary beings, the philosophers permitted the pleasing delusion to last, until the jewellers in the middle ages became as ignorant and rude as they were avaricious†—very much like what some of the most showy and pretentious of our own jewellers are at the present day.

Those who have any doubt of the superiority of ancient gems over the modern, especially those of the former that are engraved, would do well to compare the two kinds when they have an opportunity. This they could do, to a considerable extent, at almost any of the principal public galleries of Europe. The most celebrated collections of ancient gems are those of the Imperial Cabinet of Paris; the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna; of the Grand Duke of Florence; of the King of Holland at the Hague; of the families of Odeschalchi and Berberini at Rome; some private collections in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, especially those of the Duke of Devonshire and of Lord Carlisle; and the collection formerly belonging to the Duke of Orleans, now in the Imperial Museum at St. Petersburgh. Of all these, the best is that of the Grand Duke of Florence, which contains 3,000 gems. At the Imperial Library at Paris may be seen such antique productions on *cameo* as the following: The Apotheosis of Germanicus; the quarrel of Minerva with Nep-

* The philosopher Boyle endeavored to prove that the medicinal virtues attributed to the principal gems were by no means chimerical. In his very curious and learned treatise on the subject, he undertakes to show, as a means of accounting for those virtues, that the stones were originally in a fluid state; that their healing properties are derived from the mixture of metallic and other mineral substances usually incorporated with them, &c., &c.

† Guido Benoni tells us that while the jewellers were as they ought to be, the paste of which they made the counterfeit gems was called *Alba Pila*, (White Ball;) but that when they became purse-proud and rude it was called *Nigra Pila*, (Black Ball.) He also informs us that the terms *oriental* and *occidental* had their origin in a similar state of things. It seems that there was one jeweller or lapidary in Florence who kept his store in the eastern part of the city; while his rival had his in the western. The former was a scientific man, and was courteous and friendly to the learned; whereas the latter cared for nothing but to make money; nor was he very scrupulous as to the means, provided he succeeded. Accordingly, not only were the gems of the one called occidental, and those of the other oriental; but they were also respectively called *Nigra Pila* and *Alba Pila*. The *occidental* gentleman had recourse to sundry expedients in order to frighten his tormentors. He instituted lawsuits against those from whom he thought he could recover damages; but finding all to no purpose, he finally resolved to build a white marble store in the eastern part of the city; but whether this had the effect of withdrawing the obnoxious epithets from himself and his wares, we are not informed.

tune; Venus on a sea-horse, surrounded by cupids; the celebrated Brunswick Vase, representing Ceres in search of Proserpine; Germanicus and Agrippina drawn by two dragons, &c. Although these, being all Roman, are vastly inferior to the engravings on Greek gems, few modern artists would pretend to equal them.* Those of our readers who have had an opportunity of examining any of these famous collections; who are aware of the cost of the most insignificant; and who have also visited the principal manufactory of artificial gems at Paris—that called the Temple—need no elaborate arguments to convince them that ten spurious gems are sold in New York for one of the genuine; although the former often cost *more* than the fair market value of the latter—certainly more than the latter would cost in the shop of any respectable jeweller in Europe.

We have the most satisfactory testimony that Pyrgoteles was as distinguished in the lapidary art as Apelles was in painting; that if only the latter was permitted to paint the likeness of the great conqueror, only the former was permitted to sketch his miniature on his favorite gem, which was either a sardonyx or an emerald. The Romans held gems in the highest estimation; but it was not until they conquered the Greeks that they learned to engrave on them. Pliny mentions a fine collection of gems captured by Pompey from Mithridates, and brought in triumph to the capitol.† From the same authority we learn that "Nonius, a Roman senator, possessed an opal of extraordinary beauty, valued at $800,000. Rather than part with this, to Mark Antony, he chose to suffer exile. He fled to Egypt, and there, it was supposed, secreted his gem. Julius Cæsar presented his beautiful mistress, Servilia, the mother of Brutus, a pearl for which he paid a sum equal to about $250,000. The pearl which Cleopatra is said to have dissolved at a banquet and drunk off to the health of Antony is estimated by Pliny at a sum equal to about $375,000 of our money.

Since gems have always commanded such enormous prices,‡

* On many of the ancient gems are found figures in full length, either single or grouped. There are, for example, full figures of gods, with various costumes and appendages. Frequently mythical and allegorical representations are united. In some cases the engravings illustrate points of history and antiquities. Festivals, sacrifices, bacchanals, feats in hunting, and the like, are often presented.—*Eschenburg's Archæology of Art*, pp. 78-9.

† *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii., 5.

‡ The exquisite gem known as the Signet of Michael Angelo (*Cachet de Michel Ange*) was purchased, at a fabulous price, by the Keeper of the Cabinet of Henry IV., of France. So highly was it prized by Louis XIV., into whose hands it subsequently fell, that he used to wear it as a ring on state occasions. It is a carnalian of the finest kind, on which is represented, with masterly skill, an *Athenian festival*, or, as others think, *the training of Bacchus*.

it is not strange that efforts were made to counterfeit them at an early period. That the Greeks did so with great success, is beyond question. The invention of the vitrified substance called *paste*, which is now used to such an incredible extent in the manufacture of artificial gems, is at least as old as their time; the difference is, that they produced a much better article than is produced by their imitators of the present day.

The mosaics alone of the ancients would prove how well they were acquainted with the art of imitating precious stones, since most of those which still exist are composed of very fine pieces of glass. And what modern gems can surpass these in beauty and elegance? A mosaic discovered at Seville, in Spain, in 1799, is forty feet in length and nearly thirty in breadth, and contains a representation of the circus games in a parallelogram, three sides of which are surrounded by circular compartments, containing portraits of the Muses, interspersed with the figures of animals and some imaginary subjects.* The *Mosaic of Preneste*, found at Tivoli, represents four doves round the rim of a vase, and had once been the floor of the Temple of Fortune in that place. A specimen found in a private residence at Pompeii, "represents the master of the chorus instructing his actors in their parts, for a performance in the theatre. He sits on a chair in the *choragium*. At his feet, on a stool, and behind him on a pedestal, are masks which appear to be in readiness for him to distribute. One of the actors has received his mask and placed it on the top of his head, and seems with another actor at his side, listening attentively to the teacher, while a third is assisted by a fourth in putting his arms through the sleeves of a thick tunic. The two former have no clothing except a goatskin about their loins. In the middle of the scene are two females; one of them crowned, with a wreath, is playing on the double flute. Beyond these figures appear the Ionic columns of the portico, with garlands hanging in festoons between them."†

None but those who travel can form any adequate opinion of what the ancients accomplished in this way; for be it remembered, that scarcely any of the genuine remains of ancient art have reached this country—certainly none of the first, or even the second class. Nay, even the pastes imported for us from France and Italy by our worthy jewellers, and which they so kindly and conscientiously sell us for diamonds, rubies, topazes, opals, &c., &c., are by no means the best of their kind.

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* See *Mosaique d'Italica*, par Al. de Laborde.

† *Osservazioni su due Musaici antichi istoriati.* Parma, 1784, with plates, &c. See, also, *Classical Tour Through Italy.* By Eustace.

As the native precious stones are distinguished by the terms *oriental* and *occidental*—the former being the superior, the latter the inferior kind—so also are the pastes distinguished; and as a matter of course, the occidental are sent to us. By this, we do not mean that no genuine gems are worn in this country; far be it from us to make any such assertion. Those of our citizens in the habit of going abroad, and who have the means, will, and taste to buy, have as pure gems as are to be had anywhere; though none of the very remarkable, not to mention the famous, kind.

The French have attained such perfection in the art of imitating gems, that their stones can be distinguished only with great difficulty, even by connoisseurs, from the genuine. Nor is it they alone who have attained celebrity by the composition of pastes. Prof. Lippert, of Dresden, prepared a series of casts amounting to 3,000, of which 1,000 were bought by one jeweller, who made a fortune by their sale. The remainder were purchased by different jewellers, each of whom made a large sum of money.

Wedgewood, an Englishman, has been similarly successful, especially in imitating jasper, "by which cameos and white figures in relief are raised on a colored ground, and which are exquisitely beautiful." James Tassie, a Scotchman, residing at London, has at once rendered himself famous and wealthy by a collection of impressions of ancient and modern gems, amounting in number to over 15,000. Without multiplying instances, we may observe that the celebrated Portland Vase, now in the British Museum, which was long supposed to be the finest porcelain, has been proved by an eminent chemist to be composed of deep blue glass. This truly superb article was found at the beginning of the 16th century inclosed in a marble sarcophagus, in the sepulchral chamber called Monte del Grano, on the road from Rome to Frascati. The most skilful antiquaries are of opinion that it is a specimen of Etruscan art, which affords new proof that the Etruscans, as well as the Greeks and Romans, were well acquainted with the art of imitating genuine precious stones by artificial compositions. The vase is described by Mr. Parks, of London, as "a semi-transparent urn of a deep blue color, with brilliant white opaque ornaments upon it in bas relief, cut by the lapidary in the same manner as the antique cameos on colored grounds." Certain it is that no artist of modern times has produced a more beautiful gem. It is ten inches in height and six inches in breadth. "The sculpture," says Rogers, the poet, "is in the greatest perfec-

tion; all the figures full of grace and expression; every stroke as fine, sharp, and perfect as any drawn by a pencil."*

If there are any of our readers who still persist in believing that more than one-tenth part of the "gems" they see in New York and other large cities are genuine, we will direct their attention to one or two of the various processes by which the counterfeit articles are produced. M. Fontaineu, member of the Royal Academy of Sciences, of Paris, one of the best lapidaries of modern times, tells us, that the general rules for making gems, in no way inferior to the native stones, so far as *present appearances* are concerned, when carefully made and well polished, are the following:

1. "That all the vessels in which they are made are firmly luted, and the lute left to dry before they are put into the fire. 2. That such vessels are chosen for the work as will bear the fire well. 3. That the powders be prepared on a porphyry stone, *not in a metal mortar*, which would communicate a tinge to them. 4. That the just proportion in the quantities of the several ingredients be nicely observed. 5. That the materials be all well mixed, and if not sufficiently baked the first time, to be committed to the fire again, without breaking the pot; for, if this be not observed, they will be full of blisters and air-bladders. 6. That a small vacuity be always left at the top of the pot, to give room to the swelling of the ingredients. To make a paste of *extreme hardness, and capable of all the colors of the gems, with great lustre and beauty*, take of prepared crystal, ten pounds; salt of polverine, six pounds; sulphur of lead, two pounds; mix all these well together, into a fine powder; make the whole, with common water, into a hard paste; and make of this paste small cakes, of about three ounces weight each, with a hole in them, made in their middle; dry these in the sun, and afterwards calcine them in the straightest part of a potter's furnace; after this powder them, and levigate them into a perfect fineness on a porphyry, and set this powder in pots in a glass furnace to purify for three days; then cast the whole into water, and afterwards return it into the furnace, where let it stand fifteen days; in which time all foulness and blisters will disappear, *and the paste will greatly resemble the natural jewels.* To give this the color of the *emerald*, add to it brass thrice calcined; for a sea-green, brass simply calcined to redness; for a *sapphire*, add zaffer, with manganese; and for a *topaz*, manganese and tartar. *All the gems are thus imitated in paste*, by the same way of working as the making of the colored glasses; and this is so hard, that they very much approach to the natural gems.

"The colors in all the counterfeit gems, made of the several pastes, may be made deeper or lighter, according to the works for which the stones are designed; and it is a necessary general rule, that small stones for rings, &c., require a deeper color, and larger ones a paler. Besides the colors made from manganese, verdigris, and zaffer, which are the ingredients commonly used, there are other very fine ones, which care and skill may prepare; very fine red may be made from gold, and not much inferior to that from iron; a very fine green from

* Tour in Italy in 1849, p. 140.

brass or copper, and a sky-color from silver; and a much finer one from the common small garnets of Bohemia, which are of little value. The gems also afford glorious colors like their own."*

Different bases are used by different lapidaries and chemists; but that called the Mayence base is most esteemed: "Three parts of salt of tartar and one part of prepared rock crystal are mixed and made into frit, on which, after it has cooled in the crucible, warm water is poured to dissolve it. This solution being decanted into a stoneware pan, aquafortis is gradually poured into it until it ceases to effervesce. The water is again decanted, and the frit is washed in lukewarm water until it has no longer any taste. The frit is then dried and mixed with one part and a half of fine ceruse, or white lead in scales; this mixture must be well levigated, being besprinkled at the same time with distilled water. To one part and a half (12 ounces) of this powder dried, add an ounce of calcined borax; let the whole be well mixed in a marble mortar, then melted and poured into cold water, as the other bases already described. These fusions and lotions having been repeated, you mix with the whole powdered composition a twelfth part of nitre. This new mixture being melted for the last time, you will find in the crucible a beautiful crystalline mass, possessing, as the author expresses himself, "much of the *Orient.*"

Having indicated the constituents of various bases, M. Fontaineu proceeds to show how the various kinds of gems may be made. He tells us that the Mayence base alone only requires a few additional processes in order to make the white diamond. "For the *yellow diamond:* To an ounce of the fourth base add, for color, 24 grains of horn-silver, or ten grains of glass of antimony. For the *sapphire:* To 24 ounces of the Mayence base add, for color, two drachms, 46 grains, of the calx of cobalt. For the *oriental ruby:* 1. To 16 ounces of the Mayence base add, for color, a mixture of 2 drachms, 48 grains, of the precipitate of Cassius, the same quantity of crocus martis prepared in aquafortis, the same of golden sulphur of antimony and of fusible manganese, with the addition of two ounces of rock crystal; or, 2. To 20 ounces of the base made with flint, add half an ounce of fusible manganese, and two ounces of rock crystal. For the *Balas ruby:* 1. To 16 ounces of the Mayence base add the above coloring powder, but diminished a fourth part; or, 2. To 20 ounces of the base made with flints, add the same coloring powder, but with a fourth less of the manganese. For the *oriental topaz:* To 24 ounces of the

* See Sulzer's Algem. Theorie, &c., pp, 152-156. See, also, *Mineralogie des Anciens*, by M. Launay, pp. 58-61.

first or third base add, for color, five drachms of glass of antimony. For the *Brazil topaz:* To 24 ounces of the second or third base add, for color, 1 ounce, 24 grains, of the glass of antimony, and 8 grains of the precipitate of Cassius. For the *Saxon topaz:* To 24 ounces of the first or third base add, for color, six drachms of the glass of antimony. For the *hyacinth:* To 24 ounces of the base made with rock crystal add, for color, 2 drachms, 48 grains, of glass of antimony. For the *amethyst:* To 24 ounces of the Mayence base add, for color, four drachms of prepared manganese and four grains of precipitate of Cassius. For the *emerald:* One drachm of mountain blue and six grains of glass of antimony; or, 2. To an ounce of the second base add, for color, 20 grains of glass of antimony, and 3 grains of calx of cobalt. For the *beryl:* To 24 ounces of the third base add, for color, 96 grains of glass of antimony, and 4 grains of calx of cobalt. For the *common opal:* To an ounce of the third base add, for color, ten grains of horn-silver, two grains of magnet, and 26 grains of an absorbent earth."

"The substances employed for coloring factitious gems," observes another chemist of equal eminence, "are metallic oxyds; and on the proper preparation of these oxyds depends the vividness of the colors.

"1. *From Gold.*—To obtain the purple color known by the name of precipitate of cassius, M. Fontaineu employs three different processes, of which the following, as he acquaints us, is by far the best.

"Distil in a glass retort, placed in a bath of ashes, some gold dissolved in aquà regia, made with three parts of nitrous, and one part muriatic acid; when the acid is passed over and the gold contained in the retort appears dry, leave the vessel to cool, then pour it into some new aqua regia twice upon the gold, and distil the same. After these four operations, pour by little and little into the retort some oil of tartar per deliquium, which will occasion a brisk effervescence; when this ceases, distil the mixture till it becomes dry, and then put some warm water into the retort. Shake the whole; and put it into a cucurbit, when a precipitate is deposited, the color of which is sometimes brown and sometimes yellow. After having washed this precipitate, dry it. The mineral purple thus prepared is said to be much superior to that of the two other processes proposed by M. Fontaineu, since two grains of it only are sufficient to an ounce of the base, whilst it requires of the other two a twentieth part of the base. The same author found also the means of exalting the color of the precipitate of cassius by putting to it a sixth part of its weight of glass of antimony

finely powdered, and of nitre in the proportion of a drachm to eight ounces of the base.

"2. *From Silver.*—The oxyd of silver being vitrified, produces a yellowish-gray color. This oxyd enters only into the composition of the yellow artificial diamond and opal. M. Fontaineu introduces it into the base in the form of horn silver, (*luna cornea.*) In order to prepare it, he dissolves the silver in nitrous acid, and afterwards pours into it a solution of sea salt; a white precipitate is obtained, which, being washed and dried, melts very readily in the fire, and is soon volatilized if not mixed with vitrifiable matter.

"3. *From Copper.*—The oxyd of copper imparts to white glass the finest green color; but if this metal be not exactly in a state of oxydation it produces a brownish-red color. Mountain-blue verdigris, and the residue of its distillation, are the preparations of copper which M. Fontaineu employs to make the artificial emerald.

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"5. *From the Magnet.*—It is necessary to calcine the magnet before it be introduced into the vitrifications; having, therefore, torrified the magnet during two hours, it must be washed and dried. It is only employed in the composition of the common opal."

For the satisfaction of those who imagine they have such treasures, or who intend to purchase them, we will here note the principal properties of the most highly prized gems; so that they may be able to form some adequate idea of the wares for which they are expected to give such fabulous prices to the *Occidental* Klepteises of the day: M. Chevalier Baillou seems to have been the first of the moderns who had any correct idea of the classification of the precious stones. More than a century ago he showed that the color was one of the most *casual* and *variable* characteristics of those substances; and that the most reliable are specific gravity, crystallization, and hardness.

Romé de l'Isle, adopting his suggestions, and adding valuable ideas of his own, divided the whole variety of precious stones into two principal classes—namely, gems of the first and second order. To the former he refers, 1. The diamond. 2. The Oriental ruby, sapphire, and topaz. 3. The spinella. 4. The Brazilian ruby, sapphire, and topaz. 5. The emerald, Siberian beryl, and Brazilian chrysolite. 6. Saxon topaz and chrysolite. 7. The chrysolite proper. 8. The hyacinth. To the gems of the second order he refers the garnet, tournaline pendot of Ceylon, opaque rhomboidal school, basaltic hornblende, &c., &c.

Among the "casualties" which often render it so difficult, even for the connoisseur, to distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit, are the following: The true diamond sometimes has a reddish hue on the outside coat, not unlike the color of *rusty iron;* nay, the coat may be opaque, at least nearly so; and still the stone may be of the first water. Again, a diamond may appear of a greenish bright coat, *resembling a piece of green glass inclining to black,* and yet be a true gem worth a fabulous amount. To the uninitiated, beamy stones seem the best; none are more likely to deceive, or should be more carefully avoided.

The best lapidaries of the present day are of opinion that the sapphire, Oriental ruby, and topaz, are one and the same substance, differently colored. It is the red variety of the sapphire which is called Oriental ruby; its color is generally between a bright crimson and a vivid cochineal. When the same gem passes into violet by the admixture of a portion of blue, it assumes the name of the Oriental amethyst, &c. The jeweller, being acquainted with all these anomalies, is able to make flippant, if not always satisfactory answers to the purchaser, who, observing this or that defect, suspects the worst. If he be persuaded that the stone is genuine at all, he declares it is a ruby, not a diamond. To this the jeweller replies: "But a ruby of this weight (say 3½ carats) would be more valuable than a diamond of the same weight. [This is true.] I should therefore have to charge you more for it if it were a ruby." In general, this argument is regarded as conclusive, a sum of from $100 to $1,000 is paid, especially if the jeweller exhibits his wares in a palatial marble residence; although the article purchased be simply a piece of paste.

ART. X.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE.

Bryant and Stratton's National Book-Keeping: An Analytical and Progressive Treatise on the Science of Accounts and its Collateral Branches, prepared as a Book of Reference for the Counting-House, and also as a Text-Book in High Schools and Academies. By H. B. BRYANT and H. D. STRATTON, Founders and Proprietors of the National Chain of Mercantile Colleges located in New York, Philadelphia, Albany, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago and St. Louis, and S. S. PACKARD, Resident Principal of the New York City Mercantile College, 18 and 19 Cooper Institute. New York: Ivison, Phinney & Co., 48 and 50 Walker Street. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1862.

We have been thus particular in copying the title-page, partly because it is a curiosity in itself, and partly because it is characteristic of the bombastic pretensions and vulgar style of the whole performance, which is much more like a "circular" got up by a quack doctor, for the purpose of getting customers for his nostrums, than like a treatise on book-keeping. What we most wondered at, after the first glance, is, that respectable publishers, like the Messrs. Ivison, Phinney & Co., would endanger their reputation as men of taste and judgment, by allowing their names to be used in connection with such a work; but on a closer examination, we found that they are among the favored parties, who figure either as sellers or buyers in almost every "transaction" in the whole work. In short, the obvious design of the "National Book-Keeping" is much more to puff the "chain of commercial colleges" owned by the authors, than to teach any science or art whatever, except it be the science of humbug, or the art of making empty vessels sound the loudest. In the first place, we need hardly ask our readers what claim have two rooms, in which instructions, good, bad, or indifferent, are given in the science of accounts and penmanship, to the character of a college? Perhaps the claim is founded on the fact that the Romans had their college of carpenters, *collegium fatrorum tigneriorum;* college of potters, *figulorum;* college of blacksmiths, *fabrorum ferrariorum;* college of shoemakers and cobblers, *sutorium;* college of butchers, *laniorum*, &c. Be this as it may, in no other sense can the place alluded to be regarded as a college, which, according to all the principal lexicographers, including Johnson and Worcester, is "A *literary* institution, *or seminary of learning*, established by authority, endowed with funds, and possessed of certain rights and privileges." We should, however, say nothing on this point, were it not that it serves as a sample of the exaggeration and arrogance which everywhere pervade the work. It is admitted, indeed, that other authors had attempted treatises on book-

keeping before the Messrs. Bryant, Stratton and Packard; but their efforts were but "crude and ambiguous formulas," (first page of preface.) They may have had some notions of the principles on which the science is founded, as Franklin had of electricity, and Fulton of the steamboat; but it remained for the "faculty" of our national chain of colleges to reduce the chaos to a system; for they say, "it cannot be denied that the impetus, which during the last twenty years has been given to commercial education in all parts of *the* country, first by the demands of commerce itself, and next through *the laudable efforts of teachers and authors*, who have given the matter their special care, has rendered necessary a higher grade of exponents," &c.—*Ib.* No such "impetus" has been felt, it seems, by the teachers and authors of other countries; otherwise it is fair to conclude that they would have established "chains of national colleges" like the Messrs. Bryant, Stratton and Packard, and like the same learned and enterprising gentlemen, distributed their "graduates" throughout the land by thousands!

We have, indeed, no regular historical account of book-keeping, as having been known to the ancients, but there is good reason to believe that it was practised by the Romans and Carthaginians, if not by the Greeks. The classical student will be able to form an opinion as to whether Pliny had reference to the science when he wrote, in speaking of the fickleness of fortune: "*Huic omnia expensa; huic omnia feruntur accepta; et in tota ratione mortalium sola utram paginam facit.*"* Whether Pliny alluded to a regular system of book-keeping or not, certain it is that elaborate works on the subject were written early in the twelfth century. Nor were they the ignorant, illiterate, or pretentious who attempted to furnish treatises on book-keeping, as works of the kind still extant abundantly prove. We find that Lucas de Burga, author of the first European treatise on algebra, also wrote a treatise on book-keeping, which is described as follows by M. de la Porte: "Towards the year 1495," he says, "Brother Luke, a native of Italy, published a treatise on book-keeping, in Italian; (this is the most ancient author I know on this subject.) He was followed by several authors of the same country; also by Frenchmen, who, at the commencement of the next century, gave us several printed methods."† Although M. de la Porte published the work from which this extract is taken in 1753, it still continues a favorite in France. In England,

* Lib. ii., cap. 7.

† "Vers l'an. 1495, Frère Luc, Italien de nation, en fit imprimer un traité en Italien, (c'est le plus ancien auteur que j'aie vû sur cette matière.) Il fut suivi par plusieurs auteurs du même Pays, et par des François, qui au commencement du siecle suivans nous en ont donné des Méthodes imprimées. Mais l'ordre embarrassant, et le style long et embrouillé de ces ouvrages comparés à la netteté et a la briéveté qui sont en usage aujourd'hui, font voir combien l'experience a poli et abrégé cette Science."—*La Science des Negocians et Teneurs de Livres*, par M. De la Porte, p. 12. Paris. 1753.

whose commerce was but very limited three or four centuries ago, treatises on book-keeping were in general use in the schools towards the beginning of the sixteenth century. Thus, we find that one was published by Hugh Oldcastle, a schoolmaster, in 1543, which was reprinted in 1588, by John Mellis, under the following curious title: "A briefe instruction and manner how to keepe bookes of accompts, after the order of debitor and creditor, and as well for proper accompts, partible, or by three bookes, named the memoriall, journall, and leager. Newly augmented and set forth by John Mellis, schole-maister, of London. Imprinted by him at the Signe of the White Beare, nigh Baynard's Castle, 1588; 12mo."

Mellis was much more modest than his followers of the present day. He calls himself neither a professor nor a "resident principal" of a college; nor does he pretend to have made any new discoveries in the science. On the contrary, he says, in his Epistle to the Reader, (a very different document from the pompous "Address" in the volume before us:) "And knowe ye for certaine, that I presume ne vsurpe, not to set forth this worke of mine own labour and industrie, for truely I am but the reneuer and reuiuer of an auncient old copie, printed here in London the 14th of August, 1543."

Perhaps if Mellis were alive in our time he would adopt a different tone. True, no fewer than fifty have written on the same subject since, and not one of them has made such pretensions as the authors of the volume before us. At the same time none have a greater horror of charlatanism that the latter! "If one may judge," they say, "from the *flaming advertisements which disgrace the columns* of our daily papers, there is no method which ingenuity can devise, or *rascality concoct*, that is not resorted to for this end,"—(p. 7,)—[for making money.] There is a good deal of truth in this; but no where have we seen more "flaming advertisements" than those of the "chain of commercial colleges." More than once they have occupied two full pages in one of our morning papers; all in the approved style of the quack doctors. This, however, is entirely consistent with the morality of the "faculty;" for they tell us that money is the great thing which we should all yearn for as the *summum bonum*. "The possession of wealth," they say, "not only adds to one's importance in the community, but places within his power almost limitless opportunities to do good."—(P. 7.) *Ergo*, a school in which none but the most vulgar branches are taught may be styled a college; and a large book, in every page of which the compilers puff themselves, and which will never teach any science except the science of humbug, may be styled "National Book-Keeping!"

A Treatise on the Human Hair and its Diseases. By BELA C. PERRY. 16mo, pp. 192. New Bedford: Charles Faber & Co.

There are some excellent suggestions in this little volume. The titles of some of the chapters, which are as follows, will give an idea of the scope of the work:—The external skin. The sensitive skin. The formation and structure of the hair. Composition of the hair. The peculiarities of the hair, and its emotional influences. Diseases which destroy the hair. Inflammation of the sensitive skin, &c. The author makes no pretension to literary merit, but what he aims at, he succeeds in to a very great extent; namely, to put the unwary on their guard against nostrums, which do vastly more harm than good; and to show how the hair may be preserved even in old age with little care, trouble, or expense. Those in the habit of coloring their hair in order to look young would do well to peruse the chapter commencing at p. 157; which also exhibits the constituent parts of the various popular cosmetics whose virtues are so highly extolled by those interested in their sale.

1. *First Lessons in Geometry.* By THOMAS HILL. Facts before Reasoning.
2. *A Second Book in Geometry.* By THOMAS HILL. Reasoning upon Facts.

Boston: Brewer & Tileston. 1863.

These tiny volumes are admirably calculated for beginners. None that we have seen in this country are better calculated to prepossess the youthful mind in favor of mathematical studies. The author's plan of illustrating the similarity and proportion of angles to each other by cutting pieces of paper, pasteboard, and other substances, is worthy the attention of every teacher of the younger class of students. The "First Lessons" consists mainly of definitions and examples for practice—all appropriately illustrated. The "Second Book" is intended for a more advanced class of pupils; and therefore includes theory and practice. The most important propositions in Euclid are so simplified by the author's mode of demonstration, as not only to render them intelligible to the humblest capacity, but also to invest them with an interest which they do not possess for the same class when presented in other forms. This is true, for example, of the Pythagorian Proposition, known to the students of larger treatises, as the *Pons asinorum;* but which is one of the most useful problems embraced in the whole science of geometry—we mean that the object of which is to prove that, in any right-angled triangle, the square described on the side subtending the right angle is equal to the sum of the squares described on the sides which form the right angle. Part III. serves as an attractive introduction to the study of

solids. Both works are accurately printed, with clear, legible type; advantages not often possessed by similar text-books of the present day.

Supériorité des Arts Modernes sur les Arts Anciens: Poesie, Sculpture, Peinture, Musique. Par EUGÉNE VÉRON. Paris: Guillaumin. 1863.

M. Véron is one of those geniuses who think that the age and generation to which they belong themselves must necessarily be the best. In his opinion, it is a vulgar error to suppose that the Greeks, or any other ancient people, surpassed the moderns even in sculpture. The poems of Homer, and a few other ancient writers, were, he admits, very good performances for the times in which they were written; but higher praise than this they should not receive, in his opinion. As for the idea of their being superior to such modern poems as those of Corneille, Racine, and others, he thinks it is ridiculous. Criticism like this needs no comment; it would be superfluous to attempt a serious confutation of the arguments of M. Véron; they confute themselves. At the same time there is much that is brilliant and interesting in his book. When he does most injustice to the genius of Homer and Phidias, he is eminently suggestive and entertaining; as, for instance, when he tells us that the Greek women had no need for a head, (*La femme Grecque n'a pas besoin de tête.*) The great defect of the Greeks was, he tells us, that they were not sufficiently imaginative—a fact which, if such it be, will be new to many of our readers. "The truth is," he says, "they (the poets) expressed themselves exactly as they believed; when Homer tells us that Jupiter sent a dream to deceive Agamemnon, or that Minerva required Achilles to be reasonable, and urged Diomede to attack Mars and Venus, he meant what he said, neither more nor less. Jupiter and Minerva, though fictions to us, were not so to him." That is, according to M. Véron, the Greeks were an ignorant, superstitious people, and wrote as they thought; *ergo*, their poetry seems to us much better than it really is! Upon the other hand, modern poets are so much advanced in civilization that they write what they know is not true; while we, their readers and critics, are too much advanced in a similar manner to appreciate the divine thoughts they utter—thoughts of which the benighted ancients were utterly incapable of!

The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation. By SIR CHARLES LYELL, F. R. S., Author of "Principles of Geology," "Elements of Geology," &c., &c. 8vo, pp. 518. Philadelphia: George W. Peterson. 1863.

Sir Charles is at least as well known in this country by his geological researches as he is at home; he is also as much appreciated—per-

haps a little more. Both facts are accounted for by the popularity he gained among all classes during his two visits to the United States. But his works need no adventitious aid to render them acceptable to the scientific student. This is particularly true of the work now before us, which may be regarded as a comprehensive summary of all the principal geological facts at present known, including the most recent discoveries and theories. The phenomena of the Glacial Period, the Darwinian hypothesis, and the relation of the brain of man to that of the quadrumana, are each discussed with ability, and in that easy, popular style which has rendered Sir Charles so general a favorite. The antiquity of man is shown more by inference than by direct argument; indeed, it would seem that the author is still rather timid on this point; although he conceals none of the facts most relied upon by those who assign to man the highest antiquity. To this we need only add that the American publisher has done full justice to the work. The edition before us is neatly printed on good paper, illustrated by wood-cuts, and tastefully and substantially bound.

La Terre avant le Déluge. Par LOUIS FIGUIER. 8vo. Paris: Hachette. 1863.

The object of M. Figuier is undoubtedly good. He thinks that far too much of the time of youth is occupied with hobgoblin stories; and he has conceived the project of remedying the evil as far as possible. His plan is to substitute easy and interesting scientific lessons for fairy tales. None will deny that it is good in the abstract; but we fear there will not be equal unanimity as to the author's mode of carrying it out. Not many children of the present day will take much interest in studying the geological appearances and other characteristics of the earth before the flood; although it must be admitted that he renders the subject very attractive. In approaching modern times, however, he is more practical. Perhaps no other writer presents the leading facts of geology in a more interesting light; or in more lucid and graphic yet simple language. Nor does he confine himself to words. His pictorial illustrations are the best we have seen in any similar work; instance those which represent ideal landscapes, and fossils of different periods. He gives us geological maps with the same view—that is, to show how the earth is changed in appearance and character by the hand of time. Thus, we have a series of maps representing France and other countries at various periods. In a future volume, he intends to present the gradations of animal life in a similar manner; then insect life, &c., until he has furnished the rising generation a complete history of the earth and its inhabitants; a veritable "Tableau de la Nature;" although, of course, only in miniature. It seems to us that there are hints in the volume before us which it would be well for our compilers of "juveniles" to adopt.

The Human Wheel, its Spokes and Felloes. Atlantic Monthly for May.

A curious and interesting article bearing this title, from the pen, we understand, of Dr. Wendell Holmes, appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* for last month. Its "starting-point," the author tells us, "was a desire to call attention to certain remarkable American inventions, especially to one class of mechanical contrivances, which at the present time assumes a vast importance." The class alluded to is that of artificial limbs—the style of which B. Frank. Palmer is the inventor, and which is recognized as a model by the most eminent surgeons of Europe, as well as America. The Doctor gives a sketch of the progress made in inventions of the kind under consideration, from which we transcribe a brief extract. This we do all the more willingly, because it seems there are others who try to avail themselves of all the advantages arising from the superiority of the invention:

"The leg invented by Mr. Potts, and bearing the name of the 'Anglesea leg,' was long famous, and doubtless merited the reputation it acquired as superior to its predecessors. But legs cannot remain stationary while the march of improvement goes on around them, and they, too, have moved onward with the stride of progress.

"A boy of ten years old, living in a New Hampshire village, had one of his legs crushed so as to require amputation. The little fellow was furnished with a 'peg,' and stumped round upon it for ten years. We can imagine what he suffered as he grew into adolescence under the cross of this unsightly appendage. He was of comely aspect, tall, well-shaped, with well-marked, regular features. But just at the period when personal graces are most valued, when a good presence is a blank check on the Bank of Fortune, with Nature's signature at the bottom, he found himself made hideous by this fearful-looking counterfeit of a limb. It announced him at the threshold he reached with beating heart, by a thump more energetic than the palpitation in his breast. It identified him as far as the eye of jealousy could see his moving figure. The 'peg' became intolerable, and he unstrapped it and threw himself on the tender mercies of the crutch.

"But the crutch is at best an instrument of torture. It presses upon a great bundle of nerves; it distorts the figure; it stamps a character of its own upon the whole organism; it is even accused of distempering the mind itself.

"This young man, whose name was 'B. FRANK. PALMER,' (the abbreviations probably implying the name of a distinguished Boston philosopher of the last century, whose visit to Philadelphia is still remembered in that city,) set himself at work to contrive a limb which should take the place of the one he had lost, fulfilling its functions and counterfeiting its aspect so far as possible. The result was the 'Palmer leg,' one of the most unquestionable triumphs of American ingenuity. Its victorious march has been unimpeded by any serious obstacle since it first stepped into public notice. The inventor was introduced by the late Dr. John C. Warren, in 1846, to the Massachusetts General Hospital, which institution he has for many years supplied with his artificial limbs. He received medals from the American Institute, the Massachusetts Charitable Association, and the Great Exhibition in New York, and obtained an honorary mention from the Royal Commissioners of the World's Exhibition in London,—being the only maker of legs so distinguished. These are only a few of fifty honorary awards he has received at various times. The famous surgeons of London, the *Société de Chirurgie* of Paris, and the most celebrated practitioners of the United States have given him their hearty recommendations. So lately as last August, that shrewd and skilful surgeon, Dr. Henry J. Bigelow, who is as cautious in handling his epithets as he is bold in using the implements of his art, strongly advised Surgeon-General Hammond to adopt the Palmer leg, which, after a dozen years' experience, he had found none to equal. We see it announced that the Board of Surgeons appointed by the Surgeon-General to select the best arm and leg to be procured by the Government for its crippled soldiers chose that of Mr. Palmer, and that Dr. Hammond approved their selection.

"We have thought it proper to show that Mr. Palmer's invention did not stand in need of our commendation. Its merits, as we have seen, are conceded by the tribunals best fitted to judge, and we are therefore justified in selecting it as an illustration of American mechanical skill."

The article in the *Atlantic* is illustrated with tastefully executed wood-cuts. It seems to us that the author would have served the cause of humanity more effectually than he has done, in this instance, had he been a little more serious, or rather a little less jocose in his tone. There is a time for the display of wit and humor, as well as for most other things; there is also a time when both are out of place, however genuine they may be. Those whose suffering is most acute are apt to look with distrust on remedies recommended to them in a jesting way; whereas if the same were presented to them with that air of becoming gravity characteristic of the experienced physician, who sympathizes with his patient, it would be accepted without hesitation, and used with confidence. Of the benevolent intentions of Dr. Holmes in writing the "Human Wheel," there can be no doubt; we think it equally unquestionable that his article will do good—that it will have the effect of relieving many a pang, mental as well as physical; but it is not the less true that it is marred in its influence by a mode of treatment too often suggestive of the adage, that there is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

The Life and Letters of Washington Irving. By his Nephew, PIERRE M. IRVING. Vol. III. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1863.

When it was first announced that the Life and Letters of Irving would soon be published, we anticipated much pleasure from the perusal of the work; and there are none of our acquaintance who did not entertain the same feeling in regard to it. We looked anxiously for the appearance of the first volume. When it reached our table no book was taken up before it; but no book disappointed us more. Nor did we hesitate to intimate the fact at the time,* although we were as gentle as possible in our censure, hoping that the succeeding volumes would exhibit an improvement. We regarded it as a bad sign of biographical skill to find the biographer devoting a large portion of his first volume to a misty and abortive effort to prove that the author of *Bracebridge Hall* was descended in a direct line from a ducal or princely family. Had the fact been fully established, it would have amounted to little; no sensible person would have regarded it as conferring any honor on Mr. Irving. His reputation or fame did not need to be bolstered up by any such apochryphal means; he had no occasion for borrowed feathers—especially for the feathers of vultures or ravens; for if any such "Princes"† existed at the time alluded to as those described by our biographer as the probable ancestors of Washington Irving, they were little better than the ringleaders of

* See "*National Quarterly*" for June, 1862. † Magnus V.

marauding bands—commanders, if you will, but commanders who had not intelligence enough to be able to write their names.

We refer to this now only because our biographer has been similarly unhappy in the selection of matter for his subsequent volumes. Nay, indeed, he grows duller and duller, more and more pointless, as he proceeds. There is nothing worth noting in the three volumes now before us which could not easily enough have been embodied in one volume of the same size. Indeed, it seems as if the most prosy and longest of our author's letters had been selected for publication, as well as those of his most prosy correspondents; and a large proportion of both are devoted to money matters and other private affairs, which, in our humble opinion, should never have been published. In short, the whole work is written far too much in the "penny-a-line" spirit. Even in dates, the Arabic characters are in general excluded, as too brief; and the same remark applies to sums of money. Newspaper notices are quoted in full when favorable to the author; when not favorable, they are denounced as "attacks;" and those who wrote them denounced as having been actuated by unworthy motives. It seems to us that a greater injury could not be done to the fame of one of the most charming prose writers that Europe or America has produced, than to write his biography in this style.

This may seem harsh. It is certainly no pleasure to us to make such observations; we should much rather commend the efforts of a gentleman who, so far as we are aware, has never merited other than good-will from any one. But ought such grave errors as those referred to be passed over, or commended as merits, because their author is probably an amiable, rather than a disagreeable, man in his private relations? It is mistaken kindness like this—to call it by the gentlest name—that causes so many bad books to be written. If praise of his present labors would not induce Mr. Pierre M. Irving to undertake a similar biography of some other favorite author, his example would certainly have an influence on other biographers.

But all this is mere assertion; and no critic has a right to expect that his readers will give implicit credence to every statement he makes; for an opinion may be honestly given and still be erroneous. We may be entirely wrong in our estimate of the work before us; but we will give our reasons for it, and then the reader may form his own opinion. Nor would we have him do so without reading the book in order to satisfy himself that the passages to which we refer as specimens may be justly regarded in that light.

In no other "Life and Letters" of a popular author that we have ever examined are there so few letters from distinguished men, or women, than there are in this work. Nine-tenths of all, probably a larger proportion, are those to and from the members of the author's own family; those to and from the biographer always occupying a promi-

nent place. It was not to be expected that the author of *Bracebridge Hall* would write letters of this kind in his best style; especially when writing, as in most cases, on business and family affairs, and to correspondents none of whom are particularly brilliant; a fact which will sufficiently account for the prosiness alluded to above.

The first announcement we meet on opening the third volume, first chapter, is, "Peter Irving in Paris." This is followed by long quotations from the same gentleman in reference to his mode of living in Paris, which our biographer designates as "An autobiographical sketch of himself;" as if one *could* write an autobiography of anybody *but* himself. We note this at the outset in order to give an idea of the prominence given to Mr. Irving's relatives in general—a prominence which it will be seen fully justifies the remark that the object of these volumes is as much to glorify the various members, male and female, of the Irving family—show how clever each is, or has been—as to give a true portrait of the author whom we all so much admire—the same as if Boswell had swelled his work to about four times its present dimensions, with the letters and observations of all the members of the Johnsonian family with whom the great lexicographer had any correspondence. Having thus given us an insight into the high position occupied by Mr. Peter Irving in Paris, notwithstanding the feeble state of his health, which prevented him from being more widely known and more fully appreciated, our biographer proceeds to give extracts from the newspapers of the day, "as a specimen of the *immediate tone* of criticism. The first I take," he says, "from a Baltimore paper of June 16, seven days after the publication," (p. 18.) The praise bestowed in the article is, indeed, well deserved; but it is nothing more than what is vulgarly called a puff; and it is beneath the dignity of biography to copy it *in extenso*, as it is here. There is some excuse for the extract from the *New York Mirror* that follows it, because Morris and Willis, who conducted that journal, are so well and favorably known to the literary public. But even in this case it would have been sufficient to mention that the work ("Alhambra") was commended by the *Mirror*. The "notices of the press" do not end here, however; and finally the biographer tells us: "I know not whether it was before or after the publication of the 'Alhambra' that the poet Campbell remarked *to an American gentleman from whose brother* I have the anecdote: 'Washington Irving has added clarity to the English tongue.'" That is, the author of the "Pleasures of Hope" remarked to somebody's brother that the English tongue had no "clarity" anterior to the time of Irving. In our opinion, had our biographer heard the remark himself, from the poet's mouth, it would have been as judicious for him to omit it. All who praised Irving's works were not only men of taste and judgment, but their opinions were perfectly disinterested—entirely uninfluenced by any motive other than the author's intrinsic

merits. As already observed, we are told that the reverse is true of those who ventured to find any fault with either Mr. Irving or his writings. Thus, for example, Chapter V. is headed "Newspaper Attacks on Mr. Irving." After some introductory remarks of about the length usual with our biographer, he says: "While thus enjoying himself in the quiet of the country, he is called upon *most unexpectedly* to notice two gratuitous newspaper attacks."—(P. 99.) This is followed by "full particulars," which, however, are rather full for our space. Nor can we make room for the reply, to the critic, of Washington Irving, which occupies two whole pages in the volume before us; although it is written in the mild, agreeable style characteristic of the author of the *Sketch-Book*. "Mr. Irving had hardly answered this attack," says his biographer, "before he was *assailed* in the *Plaindealer* of January 14th."—(P. 102.) We have then some remarks on the character of the editor who could be so malevolent or stupid as to find any fault with Mr. Irving. The cause of complaint on each side is best explained, in the amount of space now at our disposal, by copying a portion of the criticism of the *Plaindealer:*

"Our respect for Washington Irving underwent a sensible diminution when we perceived that, in supervising the republication of Bryant's Poems in London, he changed a passage in the piece called 'Marion's Men'—

'And the British foeman trembles
When Marion's name is heard'—

in order to substitute something that might be more soothing to [English] ears than the mention of the effect which the mode of warfare practised by the Southern partisan leader had on the British soldiers."—P. 102.

This is only a part of the charge made by the *Plaindealer* against Mr. Irving; the critic adds the following:

"When Mr. Irving, in publishing a book of his own, prepares one preface for his countrymen, full of *amor patriæ*, and profession of American feeling, and another for the London market, in which all such professions are studiously omitted, he does what he has an undoubted right to do, whatever we may say of its spirit. But when, at the suggestion of a piece of literary pusillanimity, he changes the language of poems, every word of which, as written by the author, will live long after even *Bracebridge Hall* and *Knickerbocker* are forgotten, he shows a deficiency of manliness not calculated to raise him in our opinion, to say the least of it."—P. 103.

This the biographer characterizes as very "unmannerly," and then introduces Washington Irving's reply, which extends to nearly six pages; but which can hardly be regarded as a refutation of the charges made in the extract just quoted; although the reader will readily acquit the author of all intention either to play the hypocrite towards his own country, or the toady towards England. Had the biographer devoted one-tenth the space he has to this whole affair, he would have performed his duty better.

We think it will be pretty generally agreed, that a similar remark may be applied to the author's "first notion of *Astoria*." Chapter iii. shows that the book was written to order, chiefly for the purpose of glorifying John Jacob Astor, because that famous millionaire was willing to pay liberally for the honor done him. Mr. Irving wished

to avoid the more laborious part of the work; this he desired his nephew to do, and wrote to him accordingly, Sept. 15, 1834, as follows:

"John Jacob Astor is extremely desirous of having a work written on the subject of his settlement of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River; something that might take with the reading world, and secure to him the *reputation* of having originated the enterprise, and founded the colony that are likely to have such important results in the history of commerce and colonization. The old gentleman has applied to me repeatedly in the matter, offering to furnish abundant materials in letters, journals, and verbal narratives, and *pay liberally for time and trouble.*"—P. 60.

The extract from which this is taken makes two full pages. "To this letter I replied," says our biographer, "that I should think favorably of the enterprise, if my share of the work could be performed in the period specified, and *I could be assured* of two thousand dollars for my co-operation," &c.—P. 62. The author wrote to him a few days after, telling him, "I have since had a definite conversation with Mr. Astor, and fixed your compensation at *three thousand dollars.*"—*Ib.* A few pages farther on, we are told what "the accomplished critic" said; then again we are presented with long letters, in reference to another "attack" on the author. The attacking party, in this instance, was a lady's Magazine, (Graham's,) the critic charging Mr. Irving with puffing his own works. But enough. We repeat that there are abundant materials in the correspondence of Washington Irving for a "Life and Letters" worthy of the author; but such a work has yet to be written. That talent, not to mention genius, which is essential to successful authorship, does not come by inheritance; and no amount of vanity, or self-glorification, will conceal the want of it.

The Invasian of the Crimea; its Origin and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE. New York: Harper Brothers. 1863.

Accuracy and lucidity are the chief merits of the historian; but if, like Gibbon or Macaulay, he adorns whatever he touches by a beautiful style, his book will be more generally read and more admired, though full of errors, than if he left on record a dry detail of facts, without a single violation of historic truth. The historian who combines accuracy and perspicuity with an ornate style bears away the palm; but such writers are rare. It is the ambition of Mr. Kinglake to take a place in their ranks. Whether he has been successful, and how far, it is our purpose to inquire.

One-half the volume published is occupied with a discussion of the transactions which brought on the war, and the other half with a narrative of the invasion of the Crimea, and the operations of the allied armies till after the battle of the Alma; and the forthcoming volume is to close the book with the death of Lord Raglan, though that event was not synchronous with the end of the war. Mr. Kinglake, however, seems to think that the hero of the war is Lord Raglan, and that

to continue the narrative after his death would be an anti-climax, and as improper as it would be to protract the play of Hamlet after the death of the Prince of Denmark. Indeed, he avows that his principal object is to vindicate the fame of the British Commander. But as the reader proceeds he cannot fail to see that the writer has other objects nearer to his heart; that is to say, to blacken the character of Louis Napoleon, to disparage the French army and its generals, to extravagantly laud the British lion, and to stir up such enmity between the two nations divided by a narrow channel as will break up the *entente cordiale*, put an end to all future alliances, and overthrow the terrible despot of France. Mr. Kinglake's horror of Napoleon III. is equal to Mr. Urquhart's dread of Nicholas of Russia. The one held up the Czar as the great bugbear of all Europe; the other now exhibits the emperor of the French in the same light. Mr. Kinglake writes more as a strong partisan than as a calm, dispassionate historian. Excepting this drawback, his book is full of facts, and is a most valuable contribution to the literature of modern war. His sources of information are the very highest. Lady Raglan, in 1856, placed in his hands the whole mass of the papers which her late husband had with him at the time of his death. Of those papers the author gives the following account:

"Knowing Lord Raglan's habits of business, knowing his tendency to connect all public transactions with the labors of the desk, and finding in no part of the correspondence the least semblance of anything like a chasm, I am led to believe that of almost everything concerning the business of the war which was known to Lord Raglan himself, there lies in the papers before me a clear and faithful record.

"In this mass of papers there are—not only all the military reports which were from time to time addressed to the commander of the English army by the generals and other officers serving under him, (including their holograph narratives of the part they had been taking in the battles,) but also Lord Raglan's official and private correspondence with sovereigns and their ambassadors; with ministers, generals, and admirals; with the French, with the Turks, with the Sardinians; with public men, and official functionaries of all sorts and conditions; with adventurers, with men propounding wild schemes, with dear and faithful friends. Circumstances had previously made me acquainted with a good deal of the more important information thus laid before me; but there is a completeness in this body of authentic records which enables me to tread with more confidence than would have been right or possible if I had had a less perfect survey of the knowledge which belonged to head-quarters."—Pp. v., vi.

Mr. Kinglake thus sets out by espousing the cause of Russia, and enlisting the prejudices of the reader ostensibly against the Allies, but really against Napoleon. So far does he carry this "*malice prepense*" that he breaks off from his narrative and goes back to the *coup d'état*, partly to damage the character of the ruler of France, and partly to show that that step necessitated foreign war on the part of the emperor, in order to divert the French people from their domestic affairs, and to establish his claims to the position he held upon a more secure basis than that of military violence.

He devotes the longest chapter in the book, or about seventy pages, to this point, and then proceeds to show that Napoleon immediately set about persuading the Sultan to resist the pretensions of

Russia; and having succeeded in this, and kindled a European imbroglio, his next move was to endeavor to draw England into an alliance with him, in which he also succeeded, to the infinite disgust of Mr. Kinglake, who holds that England had no business to meddle in the quarrel.

The Emperor of the French, however, was not in any sense the cause of the war. The remote cause was the partition of Poland, giving Russia an undue preponderance, a fulcrum on which to rest her lever, to operate for the gradual conquest of Europe and Asia, which partition was confirmed by the Treaty of Vienna, though Russia failed to fulfil the conditions on which the concession was made to her. Again, the European powers were more immediately the cause of the war.

The possession of the Holy Places in Palestine was the mere pretext for the aggression. France, since the time of Louis XIV., enjoyed a kind of protectorate over these sacred shrines, and that in virtue of a treaty made with the Sultan in 1740. But since that time, the Greeks, backed up by Russia, obtained several grants from the succeeding Sultans, in derogation of the treaty with France. But France at last insisted upon the fulfilment of the treaty, and Russia insisted upon the fulfilment of the grants; both demands could not be complied with, for one was imcompatible with the other; but the Sultan fearing both powers, temporized with both. As Palestine was in his dominions, it rested with him which of the churches, the Greek or the Latin, should have the control and usufruct of the shrines, every one of which was a distinct source of revenue. After lengthened negotiations, the French consented not to press their full claims, according to the treaty of 1740, and the Greeks, on their part, were ready to forego some of the powers of exclusion granted them by the firmans of the Sultan. The question thus narrowed down, is explained as follows, by Mr. Kinglake:

"Stated in bare terms, the question was whether, for the purpose of passing through the building into their Grotto, the Latin monks should have the key of the chief door of the Church of Bethlehem, and also one of the keys of each of the two doors of the sacred manger, and whether they should be at liberty to place in the sanctuary of the Nativity a silver star adorned with the arms of France. The Latins also claimed a privilege of worshipping once a year at the shrine of the Blessed Mary in the Church of Gethsemane, and they went on to assert their right to have 'a cupboard and a lamp in the tomb of the Virgin;' but in this last pretension they were not well supported by France; and virtually, it was their claim to have a key of the great door of the Church of Bethlehem, instead of being put off with a key of the lesser door, which long remained insoluble, and had to be decided by the advance of armies, and the threatening movement of fleets."—P. 51.

It cannot be denied that, as far as his narrative extends, Mr. Kinglake is well armed with authentic documents, though he does not always seem entirely candid in the use of them, and ignores other information already given to the world by writers in France, who had equal access to the official papers of the French generals. In the fol-

lowing eloquent extract from the opening chapter may be seen the bias against the emperor of France, to whom, elsewhere, he attributes the origination of the war, Lord Palmerston being his pliant tool:

"In the middle of this century the peninsula which divides the Euxine from the Sea of Azoff was an almost forgotten land, lying out of the chief paths of merchants and travellers, and far away from all the capital cities of Christendom. Rarely any one went thither from Paris, or Vienna, or Berlin: to reach it from London was a harder task than to cross the Atlantic, and a man of office receiving in this distant province his orders dispatched from St. Petersburg was the servant of masters who governed him from a distance of a thousand miles.

"Along the course of the little rivers which seamed the ground, there were villages and narrow belts of tilled land, with gardens, and fruitful vineyards; but, for the most part, the Chersonese was a wilderness of steppe or of mountain range much clothed towards the west with tall stiff grasses, and the stems of a fragrant herb like southernwood. The bulk of the people were of Tartar descent, but they were no longer in the days when nations trembled at the coming of the Golden Horde; and though they were of the Moslem faith, their religion had lost its warlike fire. Blessed with a dispensation from military service, and far away from the accustomed battle-fields of Europe and Asia, they lived in quiet, knowing little of war, except what tradition could faintly carry down from old times in low monotonous chants. In their husbandry they were more governed by the habits of their ancestors than by the nature of the land which had once fed the people of Athens, for they neglected tillage, and clung to pastoral life. Watching flocks and herds, they used to remain on the knolls very still for long hours together, and when they moved, they strode over the hills in their slow-flowing robes with something of the forlorn majesty of peasants descended from warriors. They wished for no change, and they excused their content in their simple way by saying that for three generations their race had lived happy under the Czars.

"*But afterwards, and for reasons unknown to the shepherds, the chief powers of the earth began to break in upon these peaceful scenes. France, England, and Turkey were the invaders, and these at a later day were reinforced by Sardinia. With the whole might which she could put forth in a province far removed from her military centre, Russia stood her ground.* The strife lasted a year and a half, and for twelve months it raged."—Pp. 25-6.

A French fleet had been then ordered to Salamis, and war seemed inevitable, when Lord Stratford settled the dispute at Constantinople, between the French and Russian ambassadors and the Pope, upon the following terms:

"According to the terms of the arrangement thus effected, the key of the Church of Bethlehem, and the silver star placed in the Grotto of the Nativity, were to remain where they were, but were to confer no new right on the Latins, and the doorkeeper of the Church was to be a Greek priest as before, but was to have no right to obstruct others nations in their right to enter the building. The question of precedence at the tomb of the Blessed Virgin was ingeniously eluded by the device before spoken of, for the priority given to the Greeks was treated as though it resulted from a convenient arrangement of hours rather than from any intent to grant precedence, and it was accordingly arranged that the Greeks should worship in the Church every morning immediately after sunrise, and then the Armenians, and then the Latins, each nation having an hour and a half for the purpose."—P. 104.

This seemed satisfactory; but Russia, immediately after, pretending to have taken offence at the order sending the French fleet to Salamis, demanded in an angry and peremptory tone the right to a protectorate of the Greek Church in Turkey. There was to be no delay. It had long been the artful policy of Russia to detach from the Sultan his Greek subjects by means of their religion, and this chasm would have perhaps the double effect of leading to a rupture, and perhaps of alienating the Greeks. By the advice of Lord Stratford, the Sultan refused to yield, and the responsibility of giving the advice made England a party to the quarrel.

It is hard to say what Mr. Kinglake would be at, except to decoy the emperor of the French. He admits that Russia is continually encroaching upon the boundaries and independence of other nations, and that Turkey is in danger of being wholly absorbed. Yet he abuses Napoleon and the English government for going to war with Russia to arrest her progress.

The same partisanship which misrepresents the causes of the war, and throws the responsibility entirely upon Louis Napoleon, enters into the author's account of the manner in which the war was carried on. All mankind, with the exception of the English people, and even a large portion of them, have decided as to the parts which the two armies played in the drama. The fame of the English arms was completely eclipsed, all through, by the brilliancy of the French. But Mr. Kinglake makes out a case to infer that it was John Bull did the best part of the fighting, that the French generals were nincompoops, and were it not for the good sense and ability of Lord Raglan, the allies would have been overwhelmed with defeat. But his own narrative proves that the English were exceedingly tardy in coming up to the support of the French on the heights of the Alma, and if the Russians had been only commanded by a good general, the allies would have been cut to pieces. The order to the British troops to advance at 7 o'clock in the morning, as agreed upon with the French general, was not carried out, and the reason has never been satisfactorily explained. It was not till 1 o'clock that they moved, and the advance of Bosquet was consequently checked, and all the benefit of his surprise of the Russians by his movement, by turning their left, was lost. Mr. Kinglake endeavors to shift the blame from the shoulders of Lord Raglan to those of Sir George Brown; but he signally fails.

In another part of his book he throws light upon this want of concert in action. It appears from the narrative of Mr. Kinglake, that the emperor of the French, before Lord Raglan set out for the Crimea, had a private interview with him, and treated him with the utmost confidence. He communicated to him his instructions to St. Arnaud, and afterwards introduced him to the Marshal and the Minister of War, and asked him many questions, relating to the expedition. According to Mr. Kinglake, Lord Raglan, while assuming an air of frankness, thought proper to evade those questions, and carefully concealed his own opinions, by turning the conversation to trivial matters. And this is the way our author vindicates the memory of his hero. He leads us to believe that Lord Raglan, loathing St. Arnaud, secretly determined from the first, whilst acting as his colleague, to defeat his plans and carry out his own. This was a duplicity unworthy of a gentleman, and very dangerous to maintain; but it accounts for the failure of Lord Raglan's army to second the movements of the French general at the most critical moments. But at other times, lest the

French should gain all the glory, he needlessly exposed his troops where they could do no good. For example, after crossing the river opposite the entrance to the valley through which the road led to the pass over the hill, he deployed his men, whereas the French advance ought to have been completed before the English army was brought so far forward.

"If the whole body of the allies had been one people, under one general," says Mr. Kinglake, "their advance would have been effected in echelon, and the left would have been kept out of fire, whilst the effort on the right was in progress; *but the pride of nations must sometimes be suffered to deflect the course of armies; and although there was no military value in any of the ground north of the vineyards, Lord Raglan, it seems, did not like to withhold his infantry whilst the French were executing their forward movement.*"

The plain English of this is, that while Raglan effectually prevented any combined movement, then without necessity, and for the gratification of pride, exposed his troops to a murderous and "studious fire from thirty guns," to which they could not reply. This miserable jealousy, working cross purposes, prevailed throughout the war, and no doubt was the cause of the sacrifice of many lives.

The attempts of Mr. Kinglake at military criticism are very feeble. He evidently does not know sufficient of his subject to be at home in such matters. It is clear that in speaking of the Key of the Russian position on the heights of the Alma, either he does not know what the word key in a military sense means, or from defective information he does not know the point which was really the key, namely, the Telegraph Hill, which, being the highest, commanded the Gourgane and all the surrounding hills, rendering them untenable. In conclusion, the descriptive powers of Mr. Kinglake far exceed his general information; his reasoning faculty, his diligence in investigating facts, and his candor in stating what he knows. His book, however, is an exceedingly interesting work. He thus sums up the results of the conflict:

"The invasion of the Crimea so tried the strength, so measured the enduring power of the nations engaged, that, when the conflict was over, their relative stations in Europe were changed, and they had to be classed afresh.

"Moreover, the strife yielded lessons in war and policy which are now of great worth.

"But this war was deadly. *It brought, they say, to the grave full a million of workmen and soldiers.* It consumed a pitiless share of the wealth which man's labor had stored up as the means of life. More than this, it shattered the framework of the European system, and made it hard for any nation to be thenceforth safe except by its sheer strength. It seems right that the causes of a havoc which went to such proportions should be traced and remembered."—P. 27.

The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World, &c. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford, &c. In 3 vols. Vol. I. London: Murray. 1862.

The historical student may expect much from this work. The author is one of the most profound English scholars of the present day,

in his peculiar sphere; and, judging from the volume before us, his new work, when complete, will entitle him to rank among the best archæologists now living in any country. The five Great Monarchies which he has undertaken to treat are Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylon, Media, and Persia. Only the two first come under consideration in the volume before us; and even these are but partially treated. Our author is a thorough believer in the highest antiquity assigned by the *savans* of Germany to Egyptian civilization; for he fixes the commencement of Egyptian history at 2700 B. C. Although Chaldæa is less ancient than Egypt, he maintains that the former was the originator of Asiatic civilization. This, however, is by no means the most remarkable statement he has made at this stage of his labors; for he does not hesitate to assert that the Chaldæans, so celebrated in all ancient history for their cultivation of the sciences and the arts, were of Hamitic origin. In other words, according to Mr. Rawlinson, the Chaldæan magi, who are said to have been the instructors of the ancient Hindoos, as well as of the Phœnicians and Persians, were no other than the children of Ham. This, indeed, he does not prove to our satisfaction. We have no prejudice against any people, let their color or shape be what it may; but we see no reason to believe that the Hamitic race have ever attained a high degree of civilization, anywhere. At all events, we prefer the opinion of Bunsen, Müller, and Niebuhr, which is in direct opposition to that of Rawlinson, in this point; but in doing so, we must do the latter the justice to add that nowhere else in the present volume do we find any important statement which is not founded on the best authorities. Our author's remarks on the Chaldæan religion embrace some new and interesting theories. In his opinion, it was principally astral; but he thinks that the heaven, the sun, and the moon, as well as the five primary planets then known, had each its representative in the Chaldæan Pantheon.

Letters from Italy and Switzerland. By FELIX MENDELSSOHN. Translated from the German by LADY WALLACE, with a Biographical Notice by JULIE DE MARGUERITTES. 18mo; pp. 360. Philadelphia: Fredrick Leypoldt. 1863.

The numerous admirers of the great German composer will be much pleased with this work. For our own part, we confess that it has agreeably surprised us; for, although we had always regarded him as a man of fine culture, we were not aware that he was in the habit of devoting any considerable portion of his time to literary composition. This, it seems, was a mistake; but it was one into which we were led, in common with many who enjoyed his personal acquaintance, for the reason that he was prone to keep his literary efforts a secret, even from intimate friends. Now that his papers have been carefully examined, we learn that he was an occasional contributor, on music

and the fine arts, to three or four of the leading periodicals of Germany. We have, indeed, no specimens of his contributions now before us; but his letters afford abundant evidence of his taste and judgment. It is but seldom we have met with more admirable criticisms than those contained in correspondence with his friends from the principal cities of Europe. Nor does he evince any prejudice as an artist. In general he is an earnest critic; he gives his impressions honestly. While always ready to render full justice to merit, he has no patience with shams. This we might easily illustrate, if we had time and space, by extracts from his letters. Even in this brief notice we will avail ourselves of one or two. Nor does it matter much what part of the book we turn our attention to for that purpose. Writing to his father from Rome, December 11, 1862, affectionately sending the old man a piece of music he had composed on his birthday, and incidentally noticing the condition of art in his time, he observes:

"It is some consolation, however, that it is the same in every sphere of art, as the painters here are quite as bad. They are most formidable to look at, sitting in their *Café* Greco. I scarcely ever go there, for I dislike both them and their favorite places of resort. It is a small, dark room, about eight feet square, where on one side you may smoke, but not on the other; so they sit round on benches, with their broad-leaved hats on their heads, and their huge mastiffs beside them; their cheeks and throats, and the whole of their faces covered with hair, puffing forth clouds of smoke, (only on one side of the room,) and saying rude things to each other, while the mastiffs swarm with vermin. A neckcloth or a coat would be quite innovations. Any portion of the face visible through the beard is hid by spectacles; so they drink coffee, and speak of Titian and Pordenone, just as if they were sitting beside them, and also wore beards and wide-awakes! Moreover, they paint such sickly Madonnas, and feeble saints, and such milk-sop heroes, that I feel the strongest inclination to knock them down. These infernal critics do not even shrink from discussing Titian's picture in the Vatican, about which you asked me; they say that it has neither subject nor meaning; yet it never seems to occur to them that a master who had so long studied a picture with due love and reverence, must have had quite as deep an insight into the subject as they are likely to have, even with their colored spectacles."—Pp. 81-2.

These criticisms would seem to be tinged with national prejudice did the author not speak in terms still more severe of his own countrymen whenever he thought they deserved it. Nor does he spare those residing at Rome; those who had gone thither on purpose to devote themselves to the painter's or sculptor's art, and whose efforts are naturally compared to those of the representatives, in the same sphere, of other nations.

"The German painters are really more contemptible than I can tell you. Not only have they cut off their whiskers and mustaches, and their long hair and beards, openly declaring that as soon as all danger is at an end they will let them grow again, but these tall, stalwart fellows go home as soon as it is dark, lock themselves in, and discuss their fears together. They call Horace Vernet a braggart, and yet he is very different from these miserable creatures, whose conduct makes me cordially despise them."—Pp. 117-18.

His description of St. Peter's Church, at Rome, is one of the most graphic and animated we have seen. We would gladly copy the whole, but we can only make room for a small portion:

"I was in St. Peter's to-day, where the grand solemnities, called the absolutions, have begun, for the Pope, and which last till Tuesday, when the cardinals assemble in conclave. The building surpasses all powers of description. It appears to me

like some great work of nature, a forest, a mass of rocks, or something similar; for I never can realize the idea that it is the work of man. You strive to distinguish the ceiling as little as the canopy of heaven. You lose your way in St. Peter's; you take a walk in it, and ramble till you are quite tired; when divine service is performed and chanted there you are not aware of it till you come quite close. The angels in the baptistery are monstrous giants; the doves, colossal birds of prey; you lose all idea of measurement with the eye, or proportion; and yet who does not feel his heart expand when standing under the dome, and gazing up at it?"—Pp. 85–6.

In a subsequent letter from the same city he describes the singing of the French nuns in a manner highly characteristic. He does not like the music, *pes se;* he thinks it is anything but good; at the same time, he becomes reconciled to it—nay, he is charmed with it, for the sake of the pretty faces which he cannot even hope to see:

"When the Ave Maria sounds it is time to go to the church of Trinità de Monti, where French nuns sing; and it is charming to hear them. I declare to heaven that I am become quite tolerant, and listen to bad music with edification; but what can I do? The composition is positively ridiculous; the organ-playing even more absurd. But it is twilight, and the whole of the small, bright church is filled with persons kneeling, lit up by the sinking sun each time that the door is opened; both the singing nuns have the sweetest voices in the world; quite tender and touching; more especially when one of them sings the responses in her melodious voice, which we are accustomed to hear chanted by priests, in a loud, harsh, monotonous tone. The impression is very singular; moreover, it is well known that no one is permitted to see the fair singers,—so this caused me to form a strange resolution. I have composed something to suit their voices, which I observed very minutely, and I mean to send it to them. There are several modes to which I can have recourse to accomplish this."—Pp. 88–9.

When the ladies do their work well, as in the present instance, we take pleasure in commending their efforts. The translation is well rendered by Lady Wallace. She does not mar her page with any affectation of German idioms, but is remarkably successful in transfusing the spirit of the original into the English version. Nay, indeed, we have met with more than one instance in which the fair translator imparts a degree of vivacity and *esprit* to a passage which we cannot give the great composer any credit for. Nor has Mme. de Marguerittes done her part carelessly. Her biographical sketch is brief, but comprehensive and accurate.

A History of the Intellectual Development of Europe. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York, Author of a Treatise on Human Physiology, &c., &c. 8vo, pp. 631. New York: Harpers. 1863.

We are sorry that this excellent work did not reach us in time to devote that attention to it which its intrinsic merits claim. So far as we can judge from a cursory glance, it is destined to take rank among the best similar productions of our time. We are told by the author, in his preface, that it is the completion of his work on Human Physiology. To those who know the latter, it is high praise to say that the second part is worthy of the first.

The intellectual development of Europe is treated under various heads. Sometimes, indeed, the author gives views in which we can-

not concur; at other times, his views conflict with those of the most eminent of modern investigators in the same field, including Guizot, De Gobineau and Schlegel. But when his opinions seem most at variance with the facts of history, they are sustained by ingenious and learned arguments, which, if they do not altogether convince, have at least the effect of stimulating thought and creating discussion; results which are always valuable in themselves.

The chapters on Topography and Ethnology, the Greek Age of Inquiry, the Age of Faith in the East, and the digression on Hindoo Theology and Egyptian Civilization are characterized by an agreeable freshness, as well as profundity of thought and liberality of feeling, which will be new to the student of history in these days of stale platitudes, when not one out of ten who pretend to investigate the progress of the human mind, aspire to add a single idea of their own to the general stock of knowledge. The present, as well as the former work of Prof. Draper, is so arranged as greatly to facilitate reference; and it has, besides, the advantage of a copious alphabetical index.

Life of Chopin. By F. Liszt. Translated from the French, by Martha Walker Cook. 18mo, pp. 202. Philadelphia: F. Leypoldt. 1863.

In this tasteful volume we have the life of one renowned artist by another. It is a work that does honor to both, and which all admirers of true genius will not fail to read. The distinguished author has managed to compress an incredible amount of curious information, relative to art and artists, within a comparatively small space; and yet he has nowhere neglected his subject. In the cursory glance we have been able to take at the work, we have not met with a single instance in which he has omitted anything calculated to contribute to the glory of Chopin, or to illustrate any feature in his character. And how few biographers there are of which the same may be said!

A Short Tractate on the Longevity ascribed to the Patriarchs in the Book of Genesis and its Relation to the Hebrew Chronology, &c., &c. From the Danish of the late Prof. Rask. London: Trübner & Co. 1863.

This is a slender volume; but it contains thought enough for a folio. The author avows his faith in the Scriptures; so far as we can see, he has no doubt of their divine origin. At the same time he does not believe that the patriarchs lived to a much older age than do their successors of the present day. In his opinion, what has led to the mistake in regard to their enormous longevity is, that it has been computed by the inspired writers, not in solar years, but in lunar years, or months. The calculation by lunar years would not account

for the difference between their ages and those of men now living; but that by lunar months would remove the anomaly. This, however, can hardly be reconciled with the original, which speaks not of months, but of years; and are we to suppose that writers who were divinely inspired could be so careless, not to say ignorant, as to confound months with years? But although Prof. Rask is, as we have said, a dévout believer in the Bible, he cannot admit that Adam was the first man, or Eve the first woman; this, he thinks, would be at variance with common sense, not to mention the teachings of science. "Just because we know all this about him," he says, "and his children, he cannot have been the first, for many generations must have passed away, and the name of the first man (if he had a name) been buried in eternal oblivion, long before our species could have arrived so long in experience of the phenomena of nature, and the contemplation of man, as to have a language containing words to denote the parts of time, their curiosity sufficiently excited to observe its flight, and the desire to transmit to posterity the observations they had made."—(P. 37.) It must be admitted that this is pretty cogent reasoning on the part of our author; but it is not original with him. Seneca and Pliny put forward similar ideas nearly two thousand years ago, their object being to prove that the scriptural chronology was fabulous. Several questions of nearly equal importance are discussed in the "Tractate;" and if the author is wrong in his conclusions, it is certainly not for want of learning; for he is one of the most accomplished linguists now living. His Anglo-Saxon Grammar, which is a recognized standard, would go far to prove this by itself. We would not advise any to adopt his conclusions; but we do not hesitate to advise all who have any taste for brilliant and startling disquisitions to read his "Tractate."

L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise. Par A. Esquiros. Troisième Série. Paris: Collection Hetzel. 1863.

Why will not some of our publishers either reprint these highly interesting and truthful sketches of English life and manners, or give us a translation of them? The information which the present volume gives of the London clubs alone, would secure it a large number of readers. The author gives his opinions freely; spares no prejudices; ventures to discuss those social questions in regard to which Englishmen are most sensitive; never acts the toady, though always courteous; and yet he is read more or less by all the educated classes, while scarcely any deny that his sketches are characterized by fairness, candor and impartiality. The first volume of the series has already been translated into German. His criticisms on the theatres of London, or rather on the dramatic art as practised in the British metropolis,

are at once the most acute and most interesting which we have yet seen from any foreign pen.

Lost among the Afghans: being the Adventures of John Campbell, otherwise Teringshee Bacha, amongst the Wild Tribes of Central Asia. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1862.

We have found the examination of this volume an agreeable recreation, rather than a laborious task. Not that we believe the principal incidents to be true, as they are represented to be; we rather incline to the contrary opinion; but regarding the whole affair as a romance, there is much in it that is really charming. No matter where the author gained his information—assuming that he was never half a mile from London—he contrives to give us an insight into the habits, customs, prejudices, predilections, &c., of the Afghans, the genuineness of which is beyond question. The work is in the form of an autobiography, said to be given by an English boy of his adventures in Central Asia, in his efforts to escape from the Afghans, who had found him a baby on the field of battle after the British had suffered so fearfully in their retreat through the Khaiber pass. He tells us, or rather his spokesman, Mr. Fry, tells us, that he was threatened with death for professing Christianity; and that it was to avoid this fate he resolved to make his escape. But this is somewhat inconsistent with the other alleged fact, that he had been adopted by the chief of the district in which he was found, who had him carefully educated as an Afghan noble. Having succeeded in making his escape, he was conveyed by the Hon. Mr. Murray from Teheren to Lord Elphinstone, who was then at Bombay, and who sent him to England to be educated. To this we need only add, that he is now government superintendent of the telegraph at Kurrachee, which would seem to imply that he had stronger claims on some of the functionaries of the Indian government, than those of a foundling of whose parentage nothing positive is known. At all events, the book is decidedly Oriental in its character; so much so, that we should not be surprised to learn before a second edition is issued, that the volume is but a translation of a Persian tale, with the addition of a passage here and there, to prevent anomalies and contradictions.

Moses Right and Bishop Colenso Wrong; being Popular Lectures on the Pentateuch. By the Rev. John Cumming, D.D., F.R.S.C. New York: John Bradburn. 1863.

Mr. Cumming's new book is a reply to "The Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, critically examined by the Right Rev. John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal." The main position laid down by Bishop Colenso is, that the Pentateuch, that is, the five books of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus and Deuteronomy, "cannot be regarded as historically true." How a dignitary can hold his place in

the Episcopal Church, or in any Christain church, and put forward such an opinion, seems almost incomprehensible. Dr. Cumming says, that if the writer had merely advocated some tenet of his own church, "he would never think of answering him; but what he impugns is the heritage and glory of the Church universal." The work is doing considerable mischief, not among true Christians, but "in that class of the community which is still hovering between the truths of the Gospel and the fallacies that profess to disprove or undermine them." There is, undoubtedly, a great necessity for such a work as that of Dr. Cumming. Infidelity is overspreading the country like a flood, and it is endangering the existence of our whole social system. Without religion, society cannot be held together. The mad excesses of the French Revolution of 1793 are conclusive evidences of this. Even if religion had no effect upon the future state of man after death, its worth in preserving society from being torn to pieces would be beyond calculation. But when immortality beyond the grave is taken into the account, how is its worth enhanced! The cold infidel speculator, therefore, who seeks to sap the foundations of the Christian religion, which are the books of the Old and New Testament corroborated by history and tradition, has much to answer for before God and man. Dr. Cumming, although rather a sensational divine, has been quite happy in his reply to Bishop Colenso. He shows that without any miracle, Noah's Ark, which according to him was the size of the Great Eastern, could easily accommodate all that it is represented to have contained, all the distinct species of four-footed animals being reduced to a comparatively small number. On the geological argument he is equally acute; at least much more than he is when predicting the end of the world in his "Great Tribulation;" but in truth there is no real contradiction between the facts of geology and the narrative at the beginning of Genesis, when properly interpreted. In other points, Dr. Cumming shows "how scientifically ignorant the Bishop of Natal is, when he maintains that the discoveries of science are incompatible with portions of Scripture." Even the Bishop's arithmetic is shown to be at fault. Dr. Cumming, in truth, completely uses up Dr. Colenso, and proves that the Pentateuch is endorsed by Christ and his apostles, and if thrown overboard Christianity must go with it, which is something so awful to contemplate, that even this erring Bishop must shrink from it. But the evidences of revealed religion cannot be shaken by such a man as Colenso.

Diutiska; an Historical and Critical Survey of the Literature of Germany, from the earliest period to the death of Goethe. By GUSTAV SOLLING. London: Trübner & Nutt. 1863.

The English student of German literature will find this volume a valuable aid in his researches. Although it is written in the English

language, its author is a German; and he discusses the subject *con amore*. No other work of equal size that we have seen embodies so extensive a variety of specimens of the prose and poetry of Germany. The extracts from the different authors are in general selected with taste and judgment. When he finds a faithful English translation, or one that does justice to the original, he readily adopts it; when he fails to do so, he gives a version of his own; and with the exception that his German idioms are somewhat too apparent, even in their English dress, his translations are in general both spirited and faithful.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Witchcraft: a Tragedy, in Five Acts. By CORNELIUS MATHEWS. New Edition. New York: S. French.

The scene of this well-written and highly popular drama is Salem, Massachusetts, and the time the close of the 17th century. The incidents which it so graphically depicts are unhappily founded on fact, and they illustrate a delusion of the human mind which is of very ancient date, and has been found exceedingly hard to eradicate. Many superficial readers suppose that Massachusetts stands out as an exception in history for its superstition about witches, and its cruel and sanguinary punishments of persons adjudged to be guilty of the supposed crime of witchcraft; and the people of that State are frequently assailed in newspapers and by stump orators on the ground that their ancestors were witch-burners. Nothing can be more unjust. With equal reason might nearly all the nations of Europe be condemned, for France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Scandinavia, England and Scotland, have each in succession run mad on the subject for a long series of years, and furnished thousands of victims to the regular tribunals of justice. In many cities of Germany the average number of executions for this pretended crime was six hundred, or two every day in the year, omitting Sundays. At Geneva five hundred witches were burned in three months in the year 1515; in one year 1,000 were executed in the diocese of Como. The chief seats of the delusion in Germany were Bamberg, Paderborn, Wurtzburg, and Treves. The last execution took place at Wurtzburg, in 1749; and a witch was burned at Glarus, in Switzerland, in 1780, only sixty-three years ago! It is estimated that one hundred thousand suffered in Germany from 1484 to the close of the seventeenth century.

But as early as the time of Charlemagne it was denounced in France, and according to M. Jules Garinet* that monarch attached the penalty of death to every sort of magic, enchantment, necromancy and witchcraft. After this prosecutions for witchcraft are continually

* Histoire de la Magie en France.

mentioned by the French historians. It was a crime so easily imputed and so hard to be disproved, that the powerful could conveniently ruin the weak by the mere accusation. Not only were individuals sacrificed, but whole communities. The section of the Friesland-ers known as the Stedinger in 1234,* the Waldenses at Arras in 1459, and the Templars from 1307 to 1313 were exterminated in virtue of their supposed guilt of the crime of witchcraft. Among the most illustrious victims who fell in France were Grand Master of the Templars, Jacques de Moley and his companion, Guy, the commander of Normany, in 1313, and Joan of Arc, in 1429. Sprenger, in Germany, wrote a work in Latin, called *Malleus Maleficarum*, (the Hammer of Witches,) in which he laid down a regular form of trial, and appointed a course of examination by which the inquisitors might best discover the guilty. This was used not only in Germany, but in France, Italy, and other countries.

Nor was the delusion less rampant in England. Trials of witches are recorded there previous to any formal statute against the imaginary crime. The statute of Henry VII., in 1541, was the first which specified the particular crime of witchcraft. At a much earlier period people had suffered death for sorcery in addition to other offences; but no executions took place for attending the witches' sabbath, raising tempests, afflicting cattle with barrenness, and other such absurdities. A statute was passed in 1551 against conjuration, sorcery, and witchcraft; but even this did not treat witchcraft as criminal in itself, and only condemned to death those who, by means of spells, incantations, or contracts with the devil, attempted the lives of their neighbors. But the statute of Elizabeth, in 1562, at last recognized witchcraft as a crime of the highest magnitude, whether exerted or not to the injury of the lives, limbs, and possessions of the people. From that date the persecution fairly commenced in England, and in the early part of the seventeenth century it reached its climax.

In England the judicial proceedings against witchcraft were chiefly checked by Judge Holt, who, in various trials, so charged the juries that they found verdicts of acquittal. What firmness on his part that required, and how universal must have been the delusion, may be imagined when a man like Blackstone solemnly professed his faith in it in his great work. "To deny," he says, "the possibility—nay, actual existence—of witchcraft and sorcery, is at once flatly to contradict the revealed word of God in various passages both of the Old and New Testaments; and the thing itself is a truth to which every nation in the world hath, in its turn, borne testimony, either by examples seemingly well attested, or by prohibitory laws, which, at least, suppose the possibility of a commerce with evil spirits."†

* See Dr. Kortum's History of the Republican Confederacies of the Middle Ages.
† Commentary on the Laws of England. B. iv., ch. 4, sect. 6.

The modern witch is a person who professes no such thing, but is supposed by the credulous to possess such supernatural powers, together with that of working evil upon the life, limbs, and property of individuals. The evidences which have satisfied juries of the guilt of the accused are such as a woman being in the habit of talking to herself, or exhibiting symptoms of insanity. An instance of this occurred in the trial of Janet Peaston, in 1646, at Dalkeith, in Scotland. Witch-finding had become a regular trade, or profession, and those who practised it were called "prickers," for what reason will be immediately seen. They received a fee for each witch they discovered. At the trial of Janet the magistrates "caused John Kincaid, of Tranent, the common pricker, to exercise his craft upon her. He found two marks of the devil's making, for she could not feel the pin when it was put into either of the said marks, nor did the marks bleed when the pin was taken out again. When she was asked where she thought the pins were put in her, she pointed to a part of her body distant from the real place. They were pins of three inches in length."* These prickers became at last so numerous that the judges refused to take their evidence. So slight was the testimony sufficient to convict a witch, that if any person met a hare, (which was quite a common form for a witch to assume,) and that the hare suddenly disappeared and could not be further traced, and a woman suddenly turned up immediately after in the same locality, this woman was believed to be a witch who had transformed herself into a hare and transformed herself again into a woman. In Scotland an old woman, named Isabel Gowdie, tired of life from the persecutions of her neighbors, voluntarily gave herself up to justice, and made a confession embodying the whole witch creed of the period. She was a monomaniac. She named some fifty women as her associates. She said when they wanted to destroy the crops of an enemy they yoked toads to his plough, and on the following night the devil ploughed with this team and blasted the fields. They could assume almost any shape; but they generally preferred that of a cat, or a hare; most frequently the latter. Isabel said that on one occasion, when she was in this disguise, she was sorely pressed by a pack of hounds, and had a very narrow escape with her life. She reached her own door at last, feeling the hot breath of the pursuing dogs, and got time to pronounce the magic words which could alone restore her to her proper shape:

Hare! hare!
God send thee care!
I am in a hare's likeness now;
But I shall be a woman e'en now!
Hare! hare!
God send thee care!

Every one has heard of the "Lancashire Witches," a phrase now

* Pitcairn's "Records of Justiciary."

used to compliment the ladies of that county for their bewitching beauty. But the origin of the phrase is a sad tragedy. A boy, named Robinson, was the chief actor. He confessed many years after that he had been suborned by his father and other persons to give false evidence against the unhappy witches whom he brought to the stake. The time of this trial was in 1634. He spread many rumors against one Mother Dickenson, whom he discovered to be a witch by striking a hare one day with a switch, in order to start it and have a course with his hounds. Instead of running away, the hare started up in the form of a woman. Altogether, above twenty persons were thrown into prison, and eight were condemned to die, including Mother Dickenson, upon the evidence of this boy alone, and were executed accordingly.

One of the peculiarities of the condition of a witch when in the form of a hare or cat was, that she could not be killed by a gun, unless loaded with silver. Hence, "Pudeater," in Act II., Scene 3, of the tragedy before us, says of the reputed witch, Ambla Bodish, whom he had espied in the shape of a black cat that morning: "By a bare chance, in these slow times, I had a silver sixpence in my pocket, which, in Deacon Perfect Gidney's name, I popped into the gun—knowing my lead would go for nothing—and gave it with the trigger to the ugly fugitive. She limped away. I tracked her boldly by the blood-stains into yonder house." It was in vain that "Old Man" bore testimony that, to his knowledge, the woman had lain sick in bed, of delirium, for the last month, and consequently could not be abroad in the shape of a cat.

General meetings of witches were held annually, or oftener, as the devil appointed, and they rode from great distances to the scene, on broomsticks, pokers, and other articles. They appeared entirely naked, dancing before his satanic majesty, till the crowing of the cock, which was always the signal for their dispersion. Neither can they pursue a benighted traveller across a running stream, as mentioned by Robert Burns, in his description of "a dance o' witches," in his famous Tam O'Shanter. The appearance of "the midnight hags" to Macbeth, as described by Shakespeare, was only an illustration of the universal superstition of the time, and the bard of Avon puts into the mouth of Henry VI. the following, touching "Margery Jourdain, the cunning witch," who had evoked a spirit "from depth of underground" to answer the questions propounded by the Duchess of Gloster and Bolingbroke, who had plotted the overthrow of the king:

"The witch in Smithfield shall be burn'd to ashes."

Thus, the witch delusion in Massachusetts was only characteristic of the age. In 1692, nineteen persons were executed and one pressed to death in Salem and its vicinity. But though many were accused

and condemned after that year, none were put to death. The mania broke out in the case of a girl named Goodwin, the daughter of a mason. She was hypochondriac and subject to fits, and imagined that an old Irish woman named Glover had bewitched her. Her two brothers, who had the same constitutional disease, corroborated her testimony, and crying out during their fits that the devil and dame Glover were tormenting them. The supposed witch was seized, and as she could not repeat the Lord's Prayer without making a mistake in it, she was condemned and executed. The celebrated Cotton Mather was the principal leader in the persecutions for witchcraft. He preached a sermon and published it, giving a narrative of his own experience of witchcraft. He sent a copy to Richard Baxter, who republished it in London, with a preface, in which he affirms that "he who would not be convinced by all the wisdom Dr. Mather presented, that the child was bewitched, must be a very Sadducee."

So great was the infatuation that no lady was safe from the accusation, and accusation was generally tantamount to conviction. The most respectable were accused. At last the spell was broken by the accusation of Mrs. Hale, the wife of the minister of the first church in Beverly. Her genuine virtues had won for her the confidence of the people. Her husband had been previously most active against the witches, but he knew his wife to be innocent, and he stood forth in her favor. The people joined him, and from that moment the delusion was dissipated. During the prevalence of this fanaticism, besides the twenty who perished by the hand of the executioner, fifty-five escaped death by confessing themselves guilty, one hundred and fifty were in prison, and more than two hundred others accused.* But the actors in these bloody scenes were never called to account for their deeds, though it was known that some of them had been guilty of wilful and corrupt perjury.

The Indian tribes in New England were puzzled at the infatuation of the colonists, and thought them a race either inferior to or more sinful than the French in Canada, among whom "the Great Spirit sent no witches." Hardly a trace of the belief of witchcraft exists at this day in New England, while in Old England you will see in many houses the old horseshoe nailed against the threshold, as a preservative against witchcraft. In the north of England the superstition lingers to an incredible extent, and Lancashire abounds with witch doctors, who pretend to cure diseases inflicted by the devil.

No subject possesses deeper interest for the human heart than this; it is well adapted for the tragic muse. Mr. Mathews has handled it well, and produced an effective play. The interest of the plot centres around Ambla Bodish, an aged woman who had for many years been

* Rev. Charles Upham's Lectures on Witchcraft.

a widow, her husband having been killed in a duel arising out of unfounded jealousy about her. She was too proud to explain matters till it was too late, and she bitterly reproached herself for the rest of her life. She was pensive and retiring, frequenting the lonely woods to commune with nature. She kept her secret in her own breast, and it preyed upon her imagination. She had a son named Gideon, who had been but a child when his father died. The same "stony, stubborn, mountain-towering pride" which resulted in her husband's death, and the fear of losing the filial affection of Gideon, prevented the disclosure of the truth to him. Afflicted with remorse, she secretly accused herself of being the murderer of his father, and sometimes those accusations unconsciously became audible to the sore trouble, of the youth, who did not understand her dark mutterings. Her phrensied imagination sometimes conjured up the image of her bleeding husband like the air-drawn dagger before the vision of Macbeth. Terrified she spoke to the imaginary ghost, or swooned away. This was the cause of her retirement and of the strange surmises about her character. Her son pitied and loved her intensely; the more so because he knew she was suspected of witchcraft from her mysterious ways and her habit of talking to herself in the woods. And Gideon himself more than half believed his mother had something to do with the supernatural world, though he was not yet prepared to believe she was a witch. At last he witnessed her extraordinary behavior one day as the image of her husband appeared to her, and when she told Gideon to behold the finger of the dead point to the words in the open Bible: "Set thine house in order, for thou shalt die!" He saw not the finger, but the words, which had the effect of convulsing him. He now believed his mother to be a witch, and told her so. This made it necessary for her to unbosom herself and relate her sad story. Meantime, the toils were gathering around her. Susanna Peache, now a young woman, had been the playmate of Gideon, and had pulled flowers in the woods with him when they were children. When they grew up there was a strong natural attachment between them. But Susanna had previously another suitor, a youth of great respectability, named Jarvis Dane, whom she loved at first, but whose affection she no longer reciprocated, even after Gideon appeared to grow cold to her. Her jealousy is shown in the following dialogue:

Susanna. My mind is elsewhere—see you not,
There has a chillness crept into the air
Since forth we walked? The bilberries wear
A blue cold look, and the breezy murmur
Of the brookside flags has trouble in it.
There 's Gideon Bodish—look, Jarvis, [R. H.
With hunting flushed, or pale—panther, or wolf,
[*Crosses to* L. H.
Or hawk, or deer, I 'd give an ear to know.
Run, Jarvis, that 's a good swain, and bring me word,
And mark if Gideon be not the chief
Of the returned.

Jarvis. You talk too much of Gideon Bodish,
Mistress Peache; aye, too much—I know his height,
For I have seen him stand under
The knotted maple-tree, each knot a foot;
His girth, by better measure than your arm,
When we have spanned for heft and strength.
Susanna. And of his color, Jarvis, what of that?
Jarvis. Pale apple on a ground of air: and growing,
Thanks to heaven, paler every day.—Pp. 26-7. [*Aside.*

Gideon affected indifference, for Jarvis Dane was filled with feelings of envy and revenge, and meditated the destruction of his mother and himself by charging witchcraft against them. The witchcraft delusion was then rife, and it would not be difficult to fasten upon her the fatal accusation. Gideon shuddered at the consequences, and repelled Susanna, feigning indifference to her. On one occasion, being overcome by his emotions, he confessed to her the depth of his passion, but said he could not see her more. She would not recede. He then hinted about his mother's relations with supernatural agencies, but this could not move her. She said:

"Gideon, thy heart is troubled, and I
Still cling to thee. Shall woman fly, now for the first,
Since Eve that elder garden walked, from him
She loves—when sorrow frets his brow?"

At last he did violence to his own feelings, and threatened her life if she ever came to his mother's house again. Both were supremely wretched. Whatever anger she may affect, or really feel towards himself when he is present, she likes to hear others speak well of him. This is well illustrated in one of her dialogues with Goodwife Prawl. We extract a fragment:

Good. Prawl. Well, well, [*Cross to* R.
He is a noble stripling, my sweet child,
And would he do no devil's work for Ambla,
Salem might call him her best son: I
Must be stirring; there 's much yet to be learned!
Exit Goodwife Prawl, R. H.
Susanna. Blessing on the old gossip! she is right:
I do believe Ambla more pitiful than this,
Although confusion sweeps us all along:
But Jarvis Dane 's merciless in his suit—
What shall I say, and whither turn? He sees
My heart 's for Gideon. 'T is Ambla that bewitches us,
But there was witchery ere this, I fear—
When boy and girl pluck flowers together,
Together wade, white-ankled, in the shining stream,
Walk in the moonlight, softly, side by side,
Back from wood-rambles, mocking, as they pause,
Each other's shadow, all fantastical,
Each, joyous, laughing in the other's eyes.
Oh! had dark Ambla's spells such heart in them!
I fain would think that Gideon Bodish
Loves me—but time will soon the truth disclose!
—Pp. 31-37. [*Exit* Susanna, L. H.

Jarvis Dane had observed her interview with Gideon, and boldly accused him of hypocrisy in appearing indifferent to Susanna, and charged both him and his mother with "ensnaring the innocent girl's

soul." They fought with swords on the spot. Gideon conquered, and disarmed his antagonist; but the latter vowed vengeance, and soon put the bloodhounds of the law upon the track of both him and his mother. About this time Deacon Perfect Gidney, a pillow of the church, "a cold, gloomy, and malignant man," Justice Fisk, and Officer Pudeater, were all impatient for a fresh victim.

There had been no arrest for witchcraft in Salem for a fortnight. But the deacon having heard of some witches being hung in other localities, hoped that "good would come of Salem yet," and that "the Lord would raise the devil up in Salem, that the saints might put him down;" at the same time naming, among others deserving of being looked after, Ambla Bodish, "lone with her son Gideon; *who walked not in the sanctuary on Sabbath days.*" The reply of Justice Fisk is characteristic of the men of the time:

"*Justice F.* I'm cheerful, not that these poor old wretches must be burned or hanged, or cast in irons, but, as you say, that good shall come of Salem yet."

* * * * * * * *

Old Man. And this, the raving of a dying woman,
Frenzied in mind and tortured in the body,
You would employ to work another murder—
Oh men, if men ye are—what would you do?
For the love of this fair earth we stand on,
I will upraise my voice. 'T is now as pure
As childhood's self—oh, would you keep it so!
That when another day in this new region's life
Comes on, when this young land goes free, as yet
It will, and walks this smiling wilderness,
Alone, and all apart from every other
Sovereignty, I would there might be then
No stain on her fair robe. But you, and such as you,
Will soil its beauty to the latest ages!—P. 44.

How old women were watched appears from the part undertaken by a zealous detective:

"*Pudeater.* I'll run up and down the town in all directions, stay out late o' nights, keep an eye open upon old women, and on the wicked moon which turns their heads. Pry through key-holes, to overhear their talk. From all I learn, I'm sure there must be witches somewhere in this neighborhood. If I can but catch one, I shall be made for ever."

Soon Ambla Bodish is arrested by Pudeater, and tried before Justice Fisk and Deacon Gidney. One of the witnesses against her is Susanna, who believed that she was verily a witch, and dreaded and treated her as being the cause of taking away her son's affection from her; while on the other hand, the arts of the witch caused her to love Gideon to madness. She had been persuaded by Mother Prawl, too, that if Ambla was dead, Gideon's love would flow to her again. Though she thought it hard for her to witness against the mother of Gideon, and feared that Gideon's own life might be in danger, she made up her mind to do it for the hope set before her. She testified against Ambla Bodish as follows:

"For hours, for days, for weeks, I have not been
Myself! She the sole sovereignty of all
My powers has kept, nor let me think nor feel
Other than with a pulse unnatural;

This Jarvis Dane, an excellent young citizen,
I loved; but in a night, or in a glance,
As with a rudder's touch, she turned my whole
Soul's bulk out of its stream."

On being questioned as to "whither" her soul was turned, she answered to her "own dear Gideon," whose image stood before her wherever she went.

Such was the testimony of the principal witness, a love-sick girl, who relented immediately after for what she had done.

Goodwife Prawl testifies that the accused had bewitched a child, the sight of whom threw her into convulsions.

One *Topsfield* bears witness to the same effect, and adds that he "knew that she moved mysteriously," but when asked if he had been witness to a witch-meeting, declares—

"All that I have seen, or thought that I had seen,
I dare not tell, of bloody, strange, and damnable,
For nature would not go with me."

In addition to this, some little images were found in her house, which had been recently dug up in the neighborhood. The unfortunate woman is doomed. At the execution Gideon appears, and determines she shall not die by a rope. He is struck down, his jealous rival, Jarvis Dane, stabbing him. His mother faints away and dies, and Gideon dies soon after from his wound. The scene is well depicted by our author, but we can only find room for a small portion:

Enter BRAYBROOK, L. H.

Braybrook. The thunder-stricken child, at Newberry Falls,
Is dead!
Deacon G. Seize her, and drag her to her doom!
It is enough. The dead speak out against her:
Will the Court appoint the hour that she be hanged?
Justice F. Instantly: there is no motive for delay.
Know all men here—forthwith be Ambla Bodish
Led from this, to execution, as a common witch.
Carpenter. Aye, hang her, hang her; to the gallows
With the witch.
Blacksmith. 'Way with her. She hath stopped the pulse
Of Salem, and made all trades and occupations idleness.
All. Aye, hang her! hang her!
Gideon. Hold back awhile, ye sons of Salem,
And listen to me now! No more as a wronged son,
But as a man—with like desires and feelings
With yourselves, whose pulse is natural,
Who sleeps, who wakes, who walks as free as you;
Whose heart beats on or stops, whose arm 's uplifted,
Like yours, in joy, in grief, in hate 'gainst wrong—
I ask you, here and now—will you permit
This judgment to o'erwhelm an ancient head—
The whitest, noblest, the most reverend head
Of Salem? Ye cannot be so lost, so drifted
Far away from what you were and should be;
Call back that doom—repeal the bigot's voice,
And stand up here, full-statured, men of Salem!
Jarvis. We will not set aside the doom decreed.
The law has spoken and she must die—death
To Ambla Bodish, the accursed witch!
All. Death to the witch.

> *Gideon.* Then, take ye on your heads what comes,
> And if your children should repent this hour,
> And mournfully remember Salem—be with you
> The crime, and the black memory linger
> Near your graves, for ever!—Pp. 91-92.

Susanna had previously committed suicide. Thus, three lives were sacrificed by the accusation of one individual. And this is no exaggeration of the facts of history, or of the kind of testimony upon which twenty persons suffered death in Massachusetts for witchcraft.

The amount of space we have devoted to the Tragedy of Mr. Mathews is sufficient evidence of the estimation in which we hold it as a literary effort. We think that those who read it carefully will not be surprised to learn that it has been translated into French, and represented before crowded houses, night after night, at London, Paris, Edinburgh and Dublin.

Letters of the Rev. JOHN SMITH, *a Presbyterian Minister, to his Brother, the Rev.* PETER SMITH, *a Methodist Preacher.* 16mo, pp. 188. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1862.

Some how or other it so happens that we rarely find the imprint of the Messrs. Lippincott & Co. on a good American book. Nay, in appropriating the foreign books, it would seem, in general, as if they selected the most stupid and bombastic. It may be that it is we that are stupid, and unable to appreciate the merits of their publications. Being naturally of a modest turn, and we trust not wanting in benevolence or charity, we were once about to come to the latter conclusion; but on inquiry we found that there was scarcely an intelligent person of our acquaintance who did not rank the generality of our friends' publications among the "blank books"—such as those alluded to by Byron, when he wrote "A book's a book although there's nothing in it." "But," urged we, "how is it that they sell so large a quantity?" "Ah, but where do they sell them?" asked a satirical little fellow at our elbow. "Out West," of course, interposed a Boston lady, who had just returned from a three years' residence in a large western city. We looked incredulous. "Mrs. M—— is right," said a New York bookseller. "Their books never sell, either in New York or Boston. Even in Philadelphia the trade is shy of them." "They are not much liked, at all events," chimed in another. "The last time I was in Philadelphia one of the most respectable booksellers in Chestnut Street complained indignantly that in order to secure as much transient custom as they could, they sold their books at retail at the same rate they sold them to the trade." This may be all wrong; that is, our friends' publications may be excellent—at least as good as any others, and the publishers themselves may be still better than their neighbors; and by all means let each have fair play. Let

no unfavorable opinion be arrived at in regard to them without due deliberation.

For the present we have to do only with the work whose title stands at the head of this notice. Mr. Smith's book is decidedly western. If it be read any where save by poor wights who, like ourselves, have to read it for their sins, it will be very near the Rocky Mountains—perhaps in the neighborhood of the Great Salt Lake, although it contains much more lead, or rather brimstone, than salt. Mr. Smith, the author, is a Calvinist; and Mr. Smith, supposed to be the reader, is an Arminian Methodist, whatever that may mean. The arguments used by Smith No. 1 to overwhelm Smith No. 2, and convince him that his fate is sealed for all eternity if he does not straightway exchange tweedle-dum for tweedle-dee, are such as our old grandmothers used to use against each other in witchcraft times. There is this difference, however, that Smith No. 1 has all the argument to himself; if Smith No. 2 is anything more than a myth, he allows his brother to rave on to the end of the chapter without taking any notice of his lucubrations. But let us allow Mr. Smith as well as Mr. Brown fair play—that is, let him speak for himself, though only a word or two. What a fine specimen of orthodox theology, for example, is the following:

"God has made Abraham Lincoln President of the United States. This event was just as certain two years ago, a thousand years ago, eternal ages ago, as it is now," &c.—P. 130.

Voltaire is made to point an argument in a somewhat similar manner—with just as little reason or common sense, not to speak of Christian charity:

"Of all the bad men who lived in the last century," says Mr. Smith, "Voltaire was without doubt one of the very worst. The poison of his malignant satire, after working death to three generations, is, unhappily, as active as ever. * * * And yet from all eternity it was clearly foreseen what he would be and what he would do," &c.—P. 150.

It is but too true that Voltaire has undermined the faith of many in the Christian religion; this is to be deplored. But it is not true that he was one of the very worst men of his time. On the contrary, in spite of his faults and foibles, he may justly be ranked among the benefactors of mankind. His essay in proof of the existence and power of God, alone, or his equally admirable paper on the immortality of the soul, is worth a shipload of such productions as those of the Rev. Mr. Smith. Savans and logicians like Mr. Smith forget that of forty octavo volumes produced by that universal genius, not more than four—one-tenth of the whole—have any evil tendency. Are we to pass sentence of eternal condemnation upon him and brand his memory with infamy, for this one-tenth part of human error, and give him no credit for the remainiug nine-tenths, which are replete with true wisdom and philosophy? But we refer to our author's remarks in regard to Voltaire only as a specimen of his logic and Chris-

tian tolerance. There are many things in his book infinitely more silly; but doubtless all will pass current "out West" not only for sound theology, but also for "fine writing." The volume is got up in handsome style; but, in our opinion, it should have been embellished with a portrait of the author.

Good Thoughts in Bad Times, and other Papers. By THOMAS FULLER, D.D. 16mo, pp. 395. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

The publishers of this book are rarely otherwise than happy in their selections, especially when reproducing the wisdom and lore of the past; but they have been more than usually successful in the present instance. Fuller was a good man when good men were few—when vice, rather than virtue, was the passport to distinction. Such was his character that even his enemies allowed him the privileges due only to a friend. Thus, for instance, when the city of Exeter surrendered to the parliamentary army, in 1648, he was permitted to remove to London, without any restriction, although it was well known that no one was more warmly attached to the royal cause. The fact that he was tutor to the Princess Henrietta Maria was sufficient evidence of this. Indeed, he does not seem to have ever denied it himself, no matter what danger he was exposed to. There is no doubt but his writings, as well as his genial and conciliating disposition, contributed to render him thus popular; for he produced several works, some of which are still held in high esteem. In order to justify this remark, we may mention, in passing, his "Church History," "History of the University of Cambridge," "History of Waltham Abbey," and "History of the Worthies of England," each of which exhibits research, learning, and sound thought. The contents of the present volume are worthy of their title; no other work of his gives us so true an insight into his character as a writer and a man. It is all of a religious tone; but almost every lesson it teaches is rendered interesting and attractive by association with some memorable historical fact. Those of our readers who are not acquainted with his writings will, we are sure, be glad to see a specimen or two of this kind, and we proceed to give them accordingly. Wishing to show how careful we ought to be not to misspend our lives, he relates the following anecdote:

"A sibyl came to Tarquinius Superbus, King of Rome, and offered to sell unto him three tomes of her Oracles; but he, counting the price too high, refused to buy them. Away she went, and burnt one tome of them. Returning, she asked him whether he would buy the two remaining at the same rate. He refused again, counting her little better than frantic. Thereupon she burns the second tome, and peremptorily asked him whether he would give the sum demanded for all the three for the one tome remaining; otherwise she would burn that also, and he would dearly repent it. Tarquin, admiring her constant resolution, and conceiving some extraordinary worth contained therein, gave her her demand."—P. 43.

Desiring to show the vulgarity, as well as the dangerous consequences, of vice, he presents us another interesting scrap from history:

"When John, King of France, had communicated the order of the Knighthood of the Star to some of his guardmen of mean birth and extraction, the nobility ever after disdained to be admitted into that degree, and so that order in France was extinguished. Seeing that now-a-days drinking, and swearing, and wantonness are grown frequent, even with base, beggarly people, it is high time for men of honor, who consult with their credit, to desist from such sins. Not that I would have noblemen invent new vices, to be in fashion with themselves alone, but forsake old sins, grown common with the meanest of people."—P. 45.

Elsewhere he is desirous of showing how difficult it is for those who put no restraint on their conduct "to score up their wicked words," and he illustrates the fact as follows:

"A sagamore, or petty king in Virginia, guessing the greatness of other kings by his own, sent a native hither, who understood English; commanding him to score upon a long cane (given him of purpose to be his register) the number of Englishmen, that hereby his master might know the strength of this our nation. Landing at Plymouth, a populous place, (and which he mistook for all England,) he had no leisure to eat, for notching up the men he met. At Exeter the difficulty of his task was increased; coming at last to London, (that forest of people,) he broke his cane in pieces, perceiving the impossibility of his employment. Some may conceive that they can reckon up the sins they commit in one day."—Pp. 48-9.

One more specimen, and we are done. The author wishes to remind us how, in spite of our boasted reason, we so often act like the ostrich when we want to shield ourselves from the consequences of our faults, or our crimes:

"I could both sigh and smile at the simplicity of a native American, sent by a Spaniard, his master, with a basket of figs, and a letter, (wherein the figs were mentioned,) to carry them both to one of his master's friends. By the way, this messenger ate up the figs, but delivered the letter, whereby his deed was discovered, and he soundly punished. Being sent a second time on the like message, he first took the letter (which he conceived had eyes as well as a tongue) and hid it in the ground, sitting himself on the place where he put it; and then securely fell to feed on his figs, presuming that that paper which saw nothing could tell nothing. Then, taking it again out of the ground, he delivered it to his master's friend, whereby his fault was perceived, and he worse beaten than before."—P. 51.

Need we say that, without any moral but what they naturally suggest themselves, these passages are not only worth reading, but worth remembering? How few such do we meet with in books of the present day! "Good Thoughts" is got up in tasteful style. Both the typography and binding have an antique air that harmonizes well with the portrait of the author which faces the title-page.

Mysteries of Life, Death, and Futurity, illustrated from the best and latest Authorities. By HORACE WELBY, Author of "Predictions Realized," "Signs before Death," &c. 12mo, pp. 356. New York: James Gregory. 1863.

We have the thoughts of the best writers compressed within a comparatively narrow space in this volume; so that in a few hours the reader is enabled to add a large variety of curious, interesting, and valuable ideas to his stock of knowledge. The author makes no pretensions to original thinking; but he does far more good than nine-tenths of those who do. His book is well calculated to awaken a wholesome thirst for knowledge. The tendency of such works is cer-

tainly to encourage and foster a spirit of inquiry—that is, they teach the reader how to think, and refer results to their causes—faculties which are much more rare among even those called the educated classes than many would be willing to believe. The chapters on Life and Time, the Nature of the Soul, Mental Phenomena, Premature Interment, and the Phenomena of Death, derive their importance not so much from the views and theories which they embrace, as from the many great thinkers who are supposed to have first conceived those views and theories.

On Liberty. By JOHN STUART MILL. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

There is no subject so universally discussed or so little understood as that of liberty. To this day the great moral philosophers are not agreed about what liberty consists of. What we regard as well-regulated liberty, another considers masked despotism; and what that other holds to be liberty, is denounced by one equally able, learned and sincere, as licentiousness. The discovery of the happy golden mean, equally remote from licentiousness and despotism, has never been made to the satisfaction of mankind. The English claim that they are nearest to it, but a brief examination of their system of government will show that they are very far from having attained to any rational theory of liberty. Liberty, as well as other things, depends very much upon the wishes of the people, their likes and dislikes, and just as these prevail in any community, their ideas are regarded as the principles of freedom for the time being. Liberty, as we understand it in the abstract, was invented by the Greeks. It is supposed, though with no sufficient reason, that before their time it did not exist. It does not appear that the moderns have much improved upon their principles. The American system aims to combine the democracy of the Greeks with the representative system of England. It has been successful for three-quarters of a century, but it is now subjected to a severe test; whether it will come out of the fire unscathed remains to be seen. Theories of liberty are very easy, but to reduce them to practice is the great difficulty. Most persons want liberty and even licentiousness for themselves, while they desire to put their feet upon the necks of those who differ from them. Rarely are the rights of minorities respected by those in the ascendant. Never is the great Christian principle, "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you," carried out to its legitimate consequences.

Mr. Mill shows that practically, a vast amount of tyranny exists in England, who plumes herself in being so far ahead of other nations. The practical solution of "what is liberty" has never been fully attained by any nation. Those who approach most nearly to it are most happy. From the nature of the case, and from the imperfections of

the human mind, it never can be otherwise. If men were perfect in their intellectual and moral faculties, and a ruler could be discovered of the same description, despotism would undoubtedly be the best form of government. But such is not the case; and for the same reason it becomes doubtful if the government of the many, in which the ignorant masses have the preponderance, is any better adapted to the general happiness than an autocracy. The work of Mr. Mill is likely to become a standard in England if not in this country on the subject, and be quoted like Locke, Milton and Algernon Sidney on the great principles which all profess to reverence, but which so few appreciate or adorn by their practice. The exclamation of the beautiful and the good Madame Roland as she was led to the scaffold, for the assertion of the principles of liberty by those who imagined they worshipped liberty as a goddess, is equally applicable to modern times: "Oh Liberty, what things have been done in thy name!"

Studies. By JOHN A. DOGAN. 16mo, pp. 223. Philadelphia: Yeakel & Brother. 1862.

We cannot tell how this volume reached our table. We do not know either author or publishers; but we have not been a whit the less careful in examining it on this account, nor shall we be less candid in giving our opinion of its contents. The book has not even a preface. It is dedicated to Joseph Ball, Esq., of Frankford; but in the briefest manner, without any flourish. We confess, that as a general thing, we expect more from a work introduced in this way; or rather not introduced at all, than from one that is ushered in with a pompous preface. In this, as in most other instances of the kind, we find we were right; for, as we will presently show, the volume contains some very pleasing effusions. Nay, indeed, in turning over its pages, we find more than one specimen of genuine poetry.

Most persons, whether authors or not, attach most imporance to what has cost them most labor and pains. Doubtless this is the reason that "Legion" occupies the first place in "Studies;" for it is one of the dullest pieces in the whole book. To tell the truth, we had a serious notion of throwing the volume aside, after we had read a few stanzas of the "Legion." Nor did "The Poet's Love," which comes next, inspire us with much more confidence; although the second stanza is pretty good. In short, it was not until we opened page 31, and read the four stanzas entitled "Ocean," that we began to see that the author is not without inspiration. We transcribe the lines here, and let the reader judge for himself.

"I stand upon the summer sands,
And gaze upon the sea,
And still he murmurs as of old
His ancient mystery.

He tells his doubts and his desires
Unto a thousand lands;
With him they laugh, with him they weep,
But no one understands.

The sadness of immortal thought
His lonely spirit shrouds,
And this he speaks in unknown tongues
To perishable crowds,

In strains as sorrowful and grand
As some great poet's lay,
Which the world murmurs to itself
When he has passed away."

Further on, is an agreeable, pretty effusion, entitled "The Castle in the Air," of which we copy the three first stanzas.

"Out of these prison years of pain,
I look with desolate disdain,
And with the fondness of despair
I build my castle in the air;
And as its stately walls arise,
I mock the anger of the skies.

Forgot the sorrow which awaits
Without my castle's diamond gates,
I give myself unto my dream;
The years to be around me seem;
The bliss to be deludes no more
My soul as in the days of yore.

Like some fond mistress who to prove
The passionate vows of her true love,
Asks noble deeds and patience long
Repaid with seeming scorn and wrong,
Till, conquered, full of fond alarms,
She trembles in his eager arms."—P. 68.

This is followed by a still better effort—one whose greatest fault is its brevity; although that quality enables us to transcribe it in full.

"The Mermaid sits in the moonshine white,
And sings, as she combs her hair,
A marvellous song that thrills the night
With its burden strange, Beware! Beware! Beware!
And the billows begin to tremble and moan—
To moan and dash themselves at her feet,
As, ere her lips, their hearts repeat
The strain they long have known—
The serpent strain they have heard so oft,
So lithe, so deadly bright and soft:
And the winds, her bodiless slaves,
Arise from their secret caves,
And howl, as if to drown the strain
Of her tumultuous song;—
In vain! in vain! its wild refrain
They deepen and prolong.

Gone is the magic moon;
And over the sky, so late so fair,
A black cloud drifts, through whose ragged rifts
The stars like torches flare;
And out of the howling foam beneath
Come sounds of peril and pain and death;
Voices that tell of the shipwreck there;
Shrieks and curses of drowning men;
And now and then,
Sobs and sighs that lift the hair
And lie like a curse on the fainting air;

And now and then above the war
Of darkness and despair,
The mocking pain of that wild refrain,
Beware! Beware! Beware!
Beware!"—Pp. 70, 71.

This has the genuine ring of poetry. It is sad, tender, weird; one not only thinks he sees the fabled Mermaid while he reads, but he sympathizes with her as with a true woman, who would warn us against the danger she knows is impending over us. There is not one of our best poets to whom any of these three poems—especially the first and last—would have done any discredit; nay, if we used a much stronger expression in the comparison, we should feel fully justified in doing so. Yet we should not be surprised to learn that Mr. J. B. Lippincott or Mr. T. B. Peterson, or both, had rejected the "Studies" as not suitable for their market—not of the *occidental* or "sensation" type. At the same time, our author has much to learn. He must not expect to rank as a poet because he has produced two or three happy effusions. The heights of Parnassus are of much more difficult ascent than this. Study, industry, perseverance, as well as genius, are necessary; whether he possesses the last and best attribute, remains to be seen.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Insurance Papers and Documents, of last Quarter. New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. 1863.

No very important changes have occurred in the Insurance world since our last; although there are evidences not to be mistaken that the public have begun to discriminate cautiously between Companies that are able and willing to meet their liabilities, and those that are neither one nor the other. These evidences we will take occasion to make some comment upon at the proper time; for they are of a character in which all are more or less interested, whether they possess property or not. Doubtless most of our readers have observed that the flaming insurance placards which met the curious eye every where have very sensibly diminished, both in number and *size*, within the last three or four months. The parties who distinguished themselves most by work of this kind have found that a system which may do very well for quack medicines, bearded women, national baby-shows, mermaids, and kindred monstrosities of the Barnum genus, are not the proper means to gain the confidence of intelligent business men. Even the Home Insurance Company no longer takes such pains to adorn the barber-shops, and other similar establishments, with its "statements," as it used not quite a year ago.

Nor is this the only sign of reform which it has been our pleasure to

observe.* Thus, for instance, the Mutual Life Insurance Company, of New York, seems to have abandoned the idea of working miracles in war times; for, if we are not mistaken, it no longer claims that those who patronize it will have added to their many other peculiar blessings that of a patriarchal longevity. There is, indeed, still room for improvement in its *modesty*, although it is not, perhaps, to be expected that those who proclaim that their assets exceed nine millions of dollars should trouble themselves much in regard to so vulgar a virtue.

In the New York Life Insurance Company we observe no change, except progress and success can be regarded in that light. It does not placard before the public so large a pile of figures as some other corporations; nor does it pronounce such long eulogies on itself; but the public seem to think that $2,586,246.07 in the hands of those disposed to use it in a legitimate way is as good as twice the amount in the hands of braggarts. The Manhattan Life, too, continues to exhibit evidences of prosperity, without compromising the self-respect of its officers.

We perceive that the North American Life Insurance Company, of William Street, did not feel altogether content with its original charter. It has now obtained the privilege of insuring, against railway and steamboat accidents, the limbs, as well as the lives, of all honest and patriotic travellers; but whether the amendment will have the effect anticipated remains to be seen. It seems the Company is to have the privilege to withdraw the original capital *when the accumulation from life insurance amounts to* $500,000; but we fear it will be some time before this condition is fulfilled, if, indeed, the happy moment ever arrives.

The Washington Life is, perhaps, one of the most prudent of all our corporations; for all its expenditures are based as much as possible on the "trade," or "exchange," principle. Thus, supposing some of the benches or desks of the office require repairs, the carpenter who is to do the work is expected to insure his life, or that of his better half. If he does so, very liberal terms will be made with him; if not, he may look for a job elsewhere. We might ourselves have secured an extensive patronage in this way; but the printer would not wait to be paid until after our death, should he even be sure of it then. The Knickerbocker Insurance is understood to be managed with equal sagacity; (!) but to what extent the *modus operandi* of either Company is appreciated by the public, we cannot take it upon us to say. The latter announces that it does not undertake to issue policies on sums

* If the insurance organs would now only cease to abuse each other personally, tinker fashion, in a manner so suggestive of dogs quarrelling over a bone, we think the "National Quarterly" might take some credit to itself in the matter, without compromising its characteristic modesty; although we confess we are not very sanguine on this point. As for their abuse of others who, like ourselves, are not of their tribe, it is rather amusing than otherwise.

exceeding $10,000, which would seem to imply that there is a press of applications for large sums. We heard a leading merchant observe a few days since on 'Change, "The Security Fire Insurance is worth at least three ordinary companies." Having given satisfactory reasons for the faith that is in him, his friend replied, "Then it *is* a real *security*." The Company does a large business, and its customers receive 75 per cent. of net profits.

The Columbian Marine Insurance Company is understood to be securing much of the patronage formerly enjoyed by the Atlantic and Sun Companies, without exercising any other influence than that of its prompt and cheerful payment of all just claims. Be this as it may, it is agreed upon all hands that not one of our marine companies is in a more flourishing condition. During the last year it made an addition of $217,087.16 to its assets; so that they now amount to nearly $1,500,000. Another of our prosperous Companies is the Mercantile Mutual. It is one of the oldest of our marine companies; and what it has accomplished during the last year, shows that it is also one of the best. Its principal officers are experienced and intelligent underwriters, who practically recognize the maxim, that however much may be gained for a time by "smart operations," it proves not the less true, in the long run, that honesty is the best policy. It seems from official reports, that its actual profits on the business of last year amount to nearly $300,000, including interest to shareholders and scripholders. Of the Hope Fire Insurance we hear but little; but this little is good. Its officers make no display until the time comes to display the money to those who are entitled to it; then, we believe, no other Company in New York is more ready to open its purse—not a light one either that contains $200,000 in hard cash.

We had intended to glance at the principal companies of Philadelphia, Boston, Hartford, &c.; but we find we must defer doing so until another time, when we shall take care to be better informed in regard to them than we are at present. We can only remark now in passing, that Life Insurance in Hartford seems to be a poor business; and we believe that only two of the Fire Companies have a better story to tell—namely, the Ætna and the Phœnix. Both of these are sound and reliable, and seem to be doing a goodly amount of business. Should we find that any of the others are in a similar condition, we shall be happy at any time to note the fact.

History of the Ice Trade in the United States and British America. By James H. Williams. 16mo, pp. 168. London: Henderson. 1863.

There is some interesting information in this volume; but the author has evidently not devoted much attention to the subject. We expect something more from one who makes Ice the subject of a book than

mere figures. But even in the latter our author is not always correct; he exaggerates the amount of business done in Canada, and diminishes that done in the United States in a still greater ratio. He admits that the amount collected in the vicinity of Boston, and sold at home and abroad, is very great; but he adds that, so far as he can learn, "the amount collected about New York is very inconsiderable."—(P. 22.) New Yorkers will readily forgive him for this, however, when they see the terms in which he has spoken of the ice of Rockland Lake. "It would almost seem," he says, "as if nature had formed this lake for the express purpose of producing superior ice." He then goes on to inform his readers that the Rockland Lake article has peculiar properties. "It seems incredible," he remarks in a foot-note, "but it is not the less true, that it has the effect of entirely removing the bitter, medicine-like taste of the Croton water, which is so disagreeable to foreigners."—(P. 27.) Who will not say, on reading this, that he must have got a bad specimen of the Croton? But before he closes he makes even our good ice a text for an attack on our democratic institutions—especially on our city government. "If the Common Council had not been bribed," he says, "it would have allowed no one company a monopoly in the large amount of superior ice annually produced by Rockland Lake; and yet I am assured that the Knickerbocker Company has all to itself, both for home consumption and for export."—(P. 28.) This will be news to many of our readers; for we believe that the only sense in which a monopoly may be said to exist is, that the Company referred to chooses to incur the expense of going so far for its ice, while other companies prefer what they get nearer and costs them less. Not a word is said by our author of the unusual scarcity, and consequent high price, of ice at the present season. But with all its blunders, exaggerations, and misrepresentations, the volume before us is well worth reading.

Christian Self-Culture, or Counsels for the Beginning and Progress of a Christian Life. By LEONARD BACON, Pastor of the First Church in New Haven. 18mo, pp. 255. Boston: American Tract Society.

There is no Christian worthy of the name who may not read this little volume without fault-finding. So far as we can see, it does not contain a single sectarian suggestion. The author makes no invidious comparison, but imparts to all who will listen to his advice the results of long experience in the ministry; indeed, the experience of nearly a whole life, which seems to have been always occupied in well doing. The book "offers to the reader, he truly observes, "not a psychological explanation of the change which takes place in conversion, nor any metaphysical disquisition about the will, but only some *practical counsels* for the beginning and progress of a Christian

life. If it is to do any good, it must be read *not* for theological speculation and discussion, not with the expectation that it will produce its effect by some impression on the feelings, but for the practical purpose of Christian self-culture." The chapters which will be read with most profit are those on brotherly kindness and charity; indeed, the former is worth the price of the whole book by itself.

Children of Blackberry Hollow. 5 vols. Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union.

The series bearing this title is but of little bulk. One volume might be as large as the five, and yet be small. But each is much better for the purpose for which it is intended than one many times its size; for there is not a superfluous remark in any of the series. Each book has its own story, as follows: 1, "Little Brown House;" 2, "Red Shoes;" 3, "Little Lights;" 4, "Tom Lane's Cent;" 5, "White Frock." All who know anything of children are aware how much they like variety; they also like to exchange what affords them pleasure with their brothers and sisters; and they are unequal to protracted effort. Whatever threatens too heavy a claim on their patience, or too great an inroad on their other pastimes and sports, they are apt to throw aside, with no very strong resolution of taking it up again for some time. Hence the appropriateness of the series before us; and we take pleasure in recommending them accordingly. They are as tastefully bound, and as neatly printed, on good white paper, as if they were thick octavos.

The Young Housekeeper's Friend. By Mrs. CORNELIUS. Revised and Enlarged. 12mo, pp. 254. Boston: Taggard & Thompson. 1863.

If we are correctly informed by those who have the reputation of understanding the subject, (for we do not ourselves pretend to have any knowledge of the culinary art,) our fair readers will thank us for calling their attention to Mrs. Cornelius' book in its enlarged and improved form. "The receipts," says the author in her preface, "with the exception of about twenty, which are copied from books, are furnished from my own experience or that of my immediate friends." No better recommendation than this could be given; and we are glad to perceive that the work is appreciated accordingly; that now before us being the sixth edition. The general index given at the end in the new edition enhances its value to no slight extent, especially to those who have but just commenced the interesting work of housekeeping.

Les Animaux Diplomates. Par M. DE TONSECA. Leipzig: W. Gerhard. 1863.

In this volume, the diplomats of the principal powers of Europe are made to discuss the affairs of their "august masters" in the character of animals. Occasionally the author hits on a happy stroke of humor;

indeed, at no time is he dull or uninteresting; but at the same time, his book is a failure. We doubt much whether a second edition of it will ever be called for; nay, if the first be at all large, it is not likely that it will be exhausted.

Tales for the Whitsun Season. By EMMA MACALLAN. New York: Gen. Prot. Epis. S. S. Union. 1863.

The little ones will be delighted with this tiny volume. It contains three stories, each of which is marked by the best characteristics of those intended for the young. "Bow Fen" and "Stella," especially the former, inculcate excellent moral lessons, and at the same time are as lively and attractive as an Eastern tale. If those who devote their attention and talents to writing "sensation" novels would write stories like these, the world would be vastly more religious and moral fifty years hence than it is at the present day.

The Hidden Life, and the Life of Glory. By Rev. HUBBARD WINSLOW, D.D., Author of "Intellectual Philosophy," "Moral Philosophy," "Christian Doctrines," &c. 18mo, pp. 254. Boston: American Tract Society.

Books of this kind are the best shields against the systematic attacks persistently made during the past year, and which have not yet ceased, on the Christian religion, both in this country and in England, under pretence of advancing the cause of science; since it must be admitted by every candid mind, that to bring discredit on the Scriptures, or deny their authenticity as Divine revelations, is to leave Christianity without any obvious foundation to rest upon.

The Blue Socks, or Count the Cost. 18mo, pp. 232. Philadelphia: American S. S. Union.

We take great pleasure in commending this little volume to our young friends. It contains nothing sectarian—nothing repugnant to the feelings of any denomination of Christians; but much to reconcile all sects to each other, by teaching them not only that all are brethren, but also that the first duty of a Christian is to learn to be charitable and forbearing—to remember that there are none of us who have not need for indulgence at the hands of all with whom we have any intercourse; not to mention our dependence on the Creator, who tells us to love one another, and not to judge our neighbors harshly, lest we may bring the judgment we deserve on ourselves. The story of "The Blue Socks" is simple and unpretending, but interesting and instructive—well calculated to prepossess the youthful mind in favor of reading, and of gleaning useful knowledge.

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of Worcester's Dictionary is in accordance with the best usage. A vast majority of the standard works published in this country carefully follow Worcester as authority. As an example, in the new American Cyclopædia, the most important work published by Appleton & Co., publishers of Webster's Spelling-Book, the spelling of Worcester's Dictionary is adopted. In fact, we believe that there is not an author, either in this country or in England, having any claim to literary eminence who has adopted Webster's orthography in any of his published works. Bryant, Bancroft, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Holmes, Everett, Emerson, Ticknor, Motley, follow Worcester. So did Prescott, Cooper, Felton, Mann, Daniel Webster.

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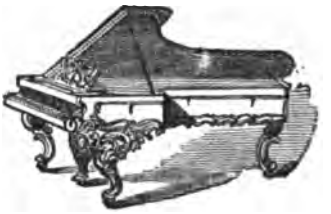

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THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. XIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1863.

ART. I.—1. *Reports of various Hospitals for the Insane in the United States up to the Present Time.*

2. *Report by Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Lunatic Asylums in Scotland and the existing Law in reference to Lunatics and Lunatic Asylums in that part of the United Kingdom. With an Appendix presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty.* 1857.

3. *Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale; ou la Manie.* Par PH. PINEL, Professeur de l'École de Médecine de Paris.

4. *Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to the Lord Chancellor. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty.* London. 1844.

5. *Traité des Maladies Mentales.* Par M. MOREL. Paris. 1852.

6. *Blackie on Cretinism.* Edinburgh. 1855.

7. *Leçons Cliniques de Médecine.* Par M. MENAL. Paris. 1854.

SINCE the beginning of the present century the diseases of the mind have engaged the attention of the most eminent physicians and most distinguished psychologists of Europe and America. If the results obtained thus far are not all that might have been expected, it is undeniable that they are of great value, and well calculated to encourage still more earnest and profound research in the same field. This would have been sufficiently evident had nothing further been accomplished than those great improvements in the treatment of the insane, which are of too important a nature to have escaped the observation of the most thoughtless philanthropist. To understand this, it is only necessary to compare the institutions of the present day, designed for those laboring under mental diseases, with those bearing the same name of only one century ago; for it

will be seen that in the most important points of view the difference amounts to a contrast.

Except in rare instances, the insane are no longer treated as if they were criminals devoid of all feeling, physical as well as mental; they are no longer chained in filthy dungeons, beaten, and exposed to the severest cold, as if they were wild beasts; but on the contrary, every means that scientific skill and philanthropy can devise is exercised to contribute to their comfort and welfare, and finally to restore them to health, if such seems possible. So far as we have been able to form an opinion from personal visits to a considerable number of asylums, both in Europe and America, and from careful inquiry and observation, this is undoubtedly the character of most of the institutions for the insane of the present day. We need hardly observe that the exceptions consist of those instances in which ignorance, pretension and avarice occasionally manage to take the place of intelligence, integrity and philanthropy; and there are but few possessed of the former qualities who are not also overbearing and tyrannical to those whose misfortune it is to be placed in their charge. We have data enough within our reach to illustrate these facts, but let us first take a retrospective glance at the progress made in ameliorating the condition of the insane. Although we of the present age may claim much credit for this great improvement in the treatment of mental diseases, we should be careful not to claim too much; but this is what we are most likely to do. Indeed, in no other instance are the people of the present day more disposed to boast of what they have accomplished. We would not, however, apply any harsh terms to such a feeling; the pride of having done good is a noble pride, even when our notions of it are founded in error. Who, for example, would utter any unkind denunciation against the good-natured but credulous old lady who is delighted with the thought of having effected a cure which had failed the most eminent physicians, and thereby alleviated a certain amount of human suffering? But if our strictures should not be severe in such a case, we ought at least to undeceive others to the best of our ability, since to avoid doing so is to aid in propagating error.

The prevailing mistake is, that because the insane were badly treated not only in the dark ages, but for centuries after —indeed, within a period which extends very nearly to our own time—it follows that they had always been treated, and by all nations, in a similar manner. We have not now many treatises written in ancient times on the treatment of the insane; but this is no proof that such did not exist. It is well to bear in mind that many valuable modern treatises have been lost,

notwithstanding the facility of multiplying copies afforded by the art of printing. Besides, no fact is better attested than that many valuable scientific treatises of various kinds have been destroyed by plagiarists having an ambition to be regarded as original writers, inventors and discoverers. But whatever may be said of the destruction of ancient treatises on insanity, no intelligent person will deny that the ancients were well acquainted with the phenomena of intellectual disease. In the earliest records, whether sacred or profane, now extant, we find proof of this. Different kinds of mental disease are alluded to in one form or other in almost every book in the Bible. But it will be sufficient to refer here to an instance or two. Thus, we are told in the first book of Samuel, (xvi., 13,) that David feigned madness before Achish, King of Gath; and we are also told that he alleviated the fits of insanity to which Saul was subject by his skilful playing on the harp. At a still earlier period, we find Moses threatening the Israelites with "madness and blindness, and astonishment of heart" for their transgressions.—(Deut., xxviii., 28.) In the Vedas of the Hindoos, in the writings of Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, and in those of the most ancient of the Persian Magi, not only are mental diseases referred to, but also institutions for their treatment. More than one passage in the Puranas of the Brahmans alludes to hospitals said to be established at Benares, at the public expense, for the cure of insanity. Prof. Bachmann, of Berlin, in a curious work on Persian Antiquities, informs us that there were asylums for the insane established at Bagdad, under the care of experienced and skilful physicians, so early as the time of Darius.* None who have properly investigated the subject doubt any longer that insanity was scientifically treated by those Egyptian priests who were the possessors of all the knowledge existing in their time. So far as we know, it was they who first discovered the soothing influence of music in the treatment of the insane. Be this as it may, it is now beyond doubt that they threw open the sacred temples of Saturn for the benefit of those laboring under melancholia. "Whatever gifts of nature," says Pinel, "or productions of art were calculated to impress the imagination, were there united to the solemnities of a splendid and imposing superstition. Games and recreations were instituted in the temples. The most voluptuous productions of the painter and the statuary were exposed to public view. Groves and gardens surrounded those holy retreats, and invited the *distracted* devotee to *refreshing* and *salubrious exercise*. Gaily-decorated boats sometimes transport-

* See *Recherches sur la Mélancolie.* Par M. Andry, t. i., p. 185.

ed him to breathe amidst rural concerts the purer breezes of the Nile. In short, all his time was taken up by some pleasurable occupation, or rather by a system of diversified amusements, enhanced and sanctioned by superstition."*

We have sufficient evidence that the Egyptian mode of treatment was introduced into Greece at the earliest period of the history of the latter country—most probably before the time of Pythagoras—one of whose most profound works was a treatise on insanity. Celsus not only mentions several Greek philosophers who wrote treatises on the diseases of the mind, but in various instances he gives an abstract of their modes of treatment. Thus, for example, he tells us that the remedies chiefly relied upon by Asclepiades, who was a very eminent physician, were "music, love, and wine, and employment exercising the memory and fixing the attention." We are told that the same physician "recommended that *bodily restraint should be avoided as much as possible, and that none but the most dangerous should be confined by bonds.*"† We have taken pains to note these facts—the records of thousands of years ago—whose authenticity is indisputable, because, as already intimated, it is so much the fashion at the present day to claim the honor of having first treated insanity in any intelligent or humane manner for this or that Frenchman, Englishman, or German. Had we not a single Greek sentence extant on the subject, we should find evidence enough in the works of the ancient Romans to prove that the Greeks had been abundantly familiar with the treatment of mental diseases. The testimony of the great Roman orator alone would be quite sufficient on this point; and we need only refer to the third book of his Tusculan Disputations, in which the whole question is discussed in his happiest style. Cicero explains exactly the extent of mental disease which, according to the laws of the Twelve Tables, deprived a man of the charge of his own property; and shows that the terms used by the Romans to express the different kinds of mental disease were much more appropriate than those used by the Greeks for the same purpose. That the moderns are of the same opinion, is sufficiently evident from the fact that, with few exceptions, it is Latin terms that are applied at the present day to every form of disease to which the mind is subject. The term *delirium* employed by the Romans had its origin in the process of ploughing; for when the oxen inclined to one side or the other from the line to be pursued, they were said to be *de lira* from the line, or out of the track. Cicero proceeds to show that *insane* (*insanus*)

* *Nosographie Philosophique*, tom. ii., 28.
† Feuchtersleben, *Op. Cit.*, p. 33.

merely meant *unsound*, and shows the difference between insanity, so understood, and fury, or rage. It is sufficient to allude here to these explanations on the part of the distinguished Roman who, above all others, was best qualified to make them; but for the benefit of the classical student, we transcribe an extract from the original at the bottom of the page.* Even in the Roman poets every form of insanity is alluded to; indeed, no physical disease is so often referred to. Horace especially, who may be regarded as the most popular writer of his time, is constantly alluding to insanity, and the manner in which it should be treated. As an illustrative instance, it will be sufficient to call attention to the third satire of his second book of Satires, which is one of the best, most elegant, and most elaborate of his poems. In order to do full justice to the subject, he discusses it in all its bearings in the form of a dialogue alternately between Damasippus and Stertinius, and himself. Thus, Stertinius is made to say, "Whom vicious folly and ignorance of the truth drive blindfold, the gallery and the sect of Chrysippus pronounce mad, *(insanum.)* * * Now hear why all who have given you the name of madman *(insano)* are equally as mad as you."† The poet then pro-

* "Nec minus illud acute, quod animi affectionem lumine mentis carentem nominaverunt *amentiam*, eandemque *dementiam*. Ex quo intelligendum est, eos, qui hæc rebus nomina posuerunt, sensisse hoc idem, quod a Socrate acceptum diligenter Stoici retinuerunt, omnes insipientes esse non sanos. Qui est enim animus in aliquo morbo, (morbos autem hos perturbatos motus, ut modo dixi, philosophi appellant,) non magis est sanus, quam id corpus, quod in morbo est. Ita fit, ut sapientia sanitas sit animi, insipientia autem quasi insanitas quædam, quæ est insania eademque dementia; multoque melius hæc notata sunt verbis Latinis quam Græcis, quod aliis quoque multis locis reperietur. Sed id alias; nunc, quod instat. Totum igitur id, quod quærimus, quid et quale sit, verbi vis ipsa declarat. Eos enim sanos quoniam intelligi necesse est, quorum mens motu, quasi morbo, perturbata nullo sit: qui contra affecti sint, hos insanos appellari necesse est. Itaque nihil melius, quam quod est in consuetudine sermonis Latini, quum *exisse ex potestate* dicimus eos, qui effrenati feruntur aut libidine aut iracundia; quamquam ipsa iracundia libidinis est pars. Sic enim definitur: iracundia ulciscendi libido. Qui igitur exisse ex potestate dicuntur, idcirco dicuntur, quid non sint in potestate mentis, cui regnum totius animi a natura tributum est. Græci autem *μανίαν* unde appellent, non facile dixerum; eam tamen ipsam distinguimus nos melius quam illi. Hanc enim insaniam, quæ juncta stultitia patet latius, a furore disjungimus. Græci volunt illi quidem, sed parum valent verbo: quem nos furorem, *μελαγχολίαν* illi vocant. Quasi vero atra bili solum mens, ac non sæpe vel iracundia graviore vel timore vel dolore moveatur, quo genere Athamantem, Alcmæonem, Ajacem, Orestem fuere dicimus. Qui ita sit affectus eum dominum esse rerum suarum vetant duodecim tabulæ. Itaque non est scriptum, *si insanus*, sed, SI FVRIOSVS ESCIT. Stultitiam enim consuerunt, constantia, id est sanitate, vacantem, posse tamen tueri mediocritatem officiorum et vitæ communem cultum atque usitatum; furorem autem esse rati sunt mentis ad omnia cæcitatem. Quod quum majus esse videatur quam insania, tamen ejusmodi est, ut furor in sapientem cadere possit, non possit insania. Sed hæc alia quæstio est; nos ad propositum revertamur."—*Disput. Tuscul.*, lib. iii., cap. v.

† Quem mala stultitia, et quemcunque inscitia veri
Cœcum agit, insanum Chrysippi porticus et grex
Autumat. * * *
Nunc accipe, quare
Desipiant omnes, æque ac tu qui tibi nomen
Insano posuere. *Sat.*, lib. ii., 3, v., 43, *et seq.*

ceeds to describe different kind of insanity; and no one who understands the subject will deny the general accuracy and fidelity of his description. "There is one kind of folly which consists in dreading things not at all to be dreaded; so that it complains that fires, rocks, and rivers obstruct it in the plains; there is another kind different from this, but nothing less foolish, that rushes through the middle of fires and rivers. Let an affectionate mother, a faithful sister, a father with relations, or a wife call out, 'Here is a great ditch, here is a terrible precipice, take care!' he will no more hear than formerly drunken Fufius, when he acted Ilione sleeping; two hundred thousand Catieni shouting, 'Mother, I call thee!'"*

In the same poem the satirist shows the difference between simple insanity and rage, or fury; alluding, in passing, to some of the causes which were then, as they are now, supposed to produce mental disease. As already observed, similar allusions are to be met with in the works of all the classic writers. But the details are to be found in Roman jurisprudence, which shows that however much we may boast of our improvements, the best of our lunacy laws are borrowed from those of the Romans. We learn from the same source how much those deceive themselves who think that no legal provision had been made for the care of the insane until our enlightened era. Not only did the government establish hospitals *(valetudinaria)* for the treatment of the insane; but it also appointed curators, who were responsible for the safety and conduct of those placed in their charge. Thus, Dr. Smith tells us, in his "History of Greek and Roman Antiquities," article *Curator*, that "the technical word for a person of unsound mind in the Twelve Tables is *furiosus*, which is equivalent to *demens;* and both words are distinguished from *insanus*. Though *furor* implies violence in conduct, and *dementia* only *mental imbecility*, there was no legal difference between the two terms, *so far as concerned the cura.* Insania is merely weakness of understanding, stultitia constantia, id est, *(sanitate vacans,)* and it was not provided for by the laws of the Twelve Tables. If an agnatus was the curator of a *furiosus*, he had the power of alienating the property of the furiosus.

* Est genus unum
Stultitiæ, nihilum metuenda timentis; ut ignes,
Ut rupes, fluviosque in campo obstare queratur;
Alterum et huic varium, et nihilo sapientius, ignes
Per medias, fluviosque mentis: clamet amica
Mater, honesta soror, cum cognatis, pater, uxor,
Hic fossa est ingens! hic rupes maxima! serva!
Non magis audierit, quam Fusius ebrius olim,
Cum Ilionum cornit, Catienis mille ducentis
Mater, te apello, clamantibus. *Sat.*, lib. ii., 3, 53, *et seq.*

* * A curator must of course be legally qualified for his functions, and he was bound, when appointed, to accept the duty, unless he had some legal exemption, *(excusatio.) The curator was also bound to account at the end of the curatela, and was liable to an action for misconduct."**

We need add no further testimony to show that, however important are the improvements made within the last century in the treatment of the insane, and in the general amelioration both of their moral and physical condition, we have no right to claim those improvements as new inventions; and much less should we pretend that no attention, whether for protection or cure, had been paid to the insane, anterior to our era. The truth is, that very little, if anything, has been added to the stock of knowledge left us by the ancient physicians, as to the treatment of insanity. The best modern physicians—especially those who have been most successful in that field—do not hesitate to admit this. At the same time, great credit is due to the intelligent and philanthropic men who seem to have revived all that was good in the old system of the Greeks and Romans for the benefit of all future ages. But it is to the French we must give the chief credit. It is to the scientific skill and philanthropy of Frenchmen the insane, as well as the blind, and the deaf mute, are indebted for the first intelligent and successful efforts made in modern times for the improvement of their condition. For centuries, it had been the habit throughout Europe to imprison all lunatics that seemed to evince any disposition to violence in the common jails. Even such as were placed in hospitals were loaded with manacles, fetters, gyves, hobbles, muzzles, &c. Under the assumption that they were insensible to the ordinary causes of bodily pain, they were treated with incredible barbarities. It was long deemed the best remedy that could be applied, to flog the unfortunate maniacs, while chained like wild beasts in dark, filthy cells. We may infer that public opinion was not much opposed to this practice, revolting as it was, from the fact that the maniacs used to be exhibited in cages for money, and that an additional charge was made for witnessing a flogging.

Such was the condition of lunatics throughout Europe, until the good St. Vincent de Paule, founder of the Foundling Hospital of Paris, undertook to introduce a more humane practice. This ecclesiastic was the first of the moderns who devoted his talents and influence to a reform in the treatment of the insane. He went about from parish to parish, delivering eloquent sermons and addresses, the chief object of which was to obtain sub-

* Smith's Greek and Roman Antiquities, p. 329, Harper's Edition.

scriptions for the hospitals of Bicêtre and Salpétrière, which have since become so famous as asylums for the insane; and it is pleasant to add that his efforts were attended with great success. Not only was he the means of relieving many sufferers, whose case would have been hopeless without his aid; but his noble example was followed by several others. Soon after, (1786,) M. Ténon, a French physician, published an essay on the condition of the insane, and on the method of treatment likely to promote their recovery. The simple facts contained in this essay were of so startling a character, that it attracted attention throughout Europe. The next effort of any importance made in favor of the insane was that of M. La Rochefoucauld, whose excellent memoir on the subject brought it before the Constituent Assembly of France.

Still the insane continued to wear chains, like felons. It remained for the learned and philanthropic Pinel to strike off these, and inaugurate that system of "moral suasion" which, happily, prevails now in every enlightened country. It is worthy of remark, that this good work was commenced in the middle of the Reign of Terror. We are told that the good physician was struck with the injustice of keeping his unfortunate patients chained in the dungeons of the Bicêtre, while so many hundreds, more mischievously distracted than they, were at large, performing the bloody work of the revolution. The horrible Bedlam of France was the Bastile of all whose misfortune it was to be afflicted with mental disease. More than 300 maniacs were chained in its loathsome cells. But they could not be relieved of their fetters without permission; and to apply for such, at such a time, was dangerous in the extreme. Pinel was not to be prevented from doing good by the fear of danger; and accordingly he entreated the Commune to permit him to make the experiment. That body was first astonished at so strange a proposal, but finally agreed to take it into consideration, and deputed one of their body to visit the hospital, and form an opinion as to the propriety of so novel an undertaking. The deputy and his physician were received by the yells and vociferations of some hundreds of maniacs, with their clanking chains echoing through the damp and dreary vaults of the prison. The deputy turned away with horror, but he permitted Pinel to proceed with his experiment. M. Scipion Pinel, the nephew of the physician, has given an interesting account of what followed, which was read before the Academy of Sciences. "Doctor Pinel," he says, "immediately resolved to liberate fifty of the maniacs by way of experiment, and commenced by unchaining twelve of the most violent. The first man set at liberty was an English captain. He had been forty

years in chains, and his history was forgotten by himself and the world. His keepers approached him with dread; he had killed one of their number with a blow of his manacles. Pinel entered his cell unattended, accosted him in a kind and confiding manner, and told him that it was designed to give him the liberty of walking abroad, on condition that he would put on a waistcoat that might confine his arms. The madman seemed to disbelieve; but he obeyed. His chains were removed, and the door of his cell was left open. Many times he raised himself and fell back; his limbs gave way; they had been ironed for forty years. At length he was able to stand, and to stalk to the door of his dark cell, and to gaze with exclamations of wonder and delight at the beautiful sky. He spent the day in the enjoyment of his newly-acquired privilege; he was no more in bonds; and during the two years of his further detention at Bicêtre, assisted in managing the house. The next man liberated was a soldier, a private in the French guards, who had been ten years in chains, and was an object of general fear. His case had been one of acute mania, occasioned by intemperance—a disorder which often subsides in a short period, under abstinence from intoxicating drinks, unless kept up, as in this case, by improper treatment. When set at liberty, this man willingly assisted Pinel in breaking the chains of his fellow-prisoners; he became immediately calm, and even kind and attentive, and was ever afterwards the devoted friend of his deliverer. In an adjoining cell there were three Prussian soldiers, who had been many years in chains and darkness; through grief and despair they had sunk into a state of stupor and fatuity, the frequent result of similar treatment, and they refused to be removed. Near to them was an old priest, harmless and patient, who fancied himself to be the Saviour of the world. When taunted by his keepers, who used to tell him that if he was Christ he could break the heavy chains that loaded his hands, he replied with solemn dignity: "Frustrá tentáris Dominum tuum." After his release he got rid of his illusion, and recovered the soundness of his mind!*

As in most similar cases, the physicians and philanthropists of England were the first to follow the example thus nobly and successfully given. As for this country, it was then only in its infancy, and therefore could not be expected to rival the veteran nations of the Old World in scientific progress. The oldest institution in England, devoted to the treatment of the insane, was the York Asylum; but it does not seem to have

* *Nosographie Philosophique.* Pinel, tome i., p. 119.

done much good in its palmiest days. The Retreat, founded by the Society of Friends, under the direction of the Duke of York, was the first really good hospital for the insane established in England. This, indeed, was a true *asylum;* the good men who had charge of it deserve, perhaps, quite as much as Vincent de Paule and Pinel, the highest rank among the benefactors of mankind. But it was not until 1808 that any adequate provision was made for the lunatic population of England. The investigation which exposed the disgraceful practices carried on at York Asylum—practices, some of which are too indecent to be even alluded to in these pages—led to a similar exposure of the condition of things at the great Bethlehem, (Bedlam.) Twenty-three years after the reformation of the Bicêtre, by Pinel, it was found that it was the ordinary practice in the Bethlehem Hospital to keep patients, male and female—even those who were but partially insane—chained constantly by arm and leg to the walls of apartments, with no clothing but a blanket. Others were found lying in cold, damp cells, on loose straw covered merely with a rug, and in a most filthy and disgusting state. The case of the unfortunate Norris, who was a patient in the hospital at the time, excited a feeling of indignation and horror throughout Europe and America. Though subject to paroxysms of fury, he was a shrewd, intelligent man in his lucid intervals. As he was, however, much feared as a dangerous madman, Mr. Halsam, who was the apothecary to the asylum, advised his confinement in a double cell; but the committee thought this too simple a mode to deal with him, and accordingly, after due diliberation, gave directions for the construction of an apparatus of iron, under the load of which the unfortunate man was destined to spend the remaining twelve years of his life. "A short iron ring," says Dr. Hitch, "was riveted round his neck, and connected by a short chain to another ring, which was made to slide up and down a massive iron pillar, six feet high; a strong iron bar, two inches wide, was riveted round his body, on each side of which his arms were pinioned down close to his waist; his right leg was chained to the trough on which he was placed."

When it is seen that "treatment" of this kind was the rule rather than the exception, at home as well as abroad, then some adequate opinion may be formed of the importance of the improvements made within the last quarter of a century in the condition of the insane, especially in our own country. Passing over an interval of more than twenty years, during which time the insane had many grievous causes for complaint, but which we have not room even to allude to here, we come to the Report of the Metropolitan Commissioners in Lunacy to

the Lord Chancellor, presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1844. In this there are many statements which it seems difficult to believe, although their general truthfulness and accuracy are beyond dispute. In speaking of the lunatic wards of St. Peter's Hospital, at Bristol, England, the Commissioners say:

"Deficient in every comfort, and almost in every convenience; the rooms being small and ill-ventilated, and some of them almost dark, and the interior of the building altogether out of repair. There was no seat, table, or article of furniture in the women's apartments, and nothing save a table in the men's room. * * The dress of the patients was, in almost every instance, dirty, ragged, and insufficient. One of the female patients pulled off her shoes and stockings, which were nothing more than rags. The Commissioners were informed that there was not a single change of linen (either for the beds or for the person) throughout the asylum. * * The refractory patients were confined in strong chairs, their arms being also fastened to the chair. They were thus confined in small rooms, into which scarcely any light entered through the gratings."

In the same Report the asylum at West Auckland is described as follows:

"In the small, cheerless day-room of the males, with only one window, and that unglassed, five men were restrained by leg-locks, called hobbles, *and two were wearing in addition iron handcuffs and fetters from the wrist to the ankle.* They were all tranquil. The reason assigned for this coercion was, that without it they would escape. One powerful young man, who had broken his fetters, was heavily ironed, and another was *leg-locked and handcuffed, who was under medical treatment and in a weak state.* One woman was *leg-locked by day and chained to her bed at night.* Chains were fastened to the floors in many places, and to many of the bedsteads. The males throughout the house slept two in one bed."

It is proper to observe that this was not one of the government hospitals, but one licensed by the authorities, the law requiring that it would be occasionally visited by the magistrates of the district. How well the latter did their duty may be inferred from the following entry, taken from the day-book of the hospital:

"*5th Dec.*, 1842.

"We this day visited the asylum, and found that the Commissioners had just left it. *We found everything in good order.*"

In their report of the licensed house at Derby, the same Commissioners say: "A lady was found confined in this house, who was represented to be a visitor, and not a patient; but who, upon investigation, was proved to have been brought from another lunatic asylum, where she was a certified patient. Her name was entered in the private account book of the proprietor as a patient, and he had given a certificate that she was confined in his asylum, *for the purpose of authorizing*

her trustee to pay over to her husband dividends to which she was entitled, only a few days previously to the visit of the Commissioners. The magistrates of the borough, who are its visiting justices, had not visited the house *for the space of a year minus eight days*. This lady had been, during the whole of her residence in this place, from the month of May until October, anxious to see some magistrate, with a view to demand her liberty. She was afterwards liberated upon our remonstrances."*

But there are reports much more recent that exhibit a state of things very nearly, if not quite, as bad as this. Thus, for example, we are told in the Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioners of Lunacy, presented in 1857, in that portion which relates to Amroth Castle, Pembrokeshire, (p. 27,) that, "as in the case of Vernon House, it was found that the *stables had been converted, by whitewashing, into wards for pauper patients; * * that the single bedrooms were formed out of the old stalls for horses, and that the male dormitories were in a loft over the stables!*" In their Report for 1856, (p. 20,) the same Commissioners speak of the Kingsdown House Asylum as follows: "We are informed by Dr. Nash that he pays about £150 per annum *for the good-will of the house, and that a valuation of the patients admitted* during the existence of the lease is to be made at its expiration, when a proportionate sum of money is to be paid to Dr. Nash for the cases so admitted. The amount is to be determined by arbitration. * * They (the patients) are by this arrangement *made a source of traffic and profit by two parties.*"

Facts like these, which are beyond all dispute, need no comment; but before turning to the condition of our own asylums during the same period, it is proper to observe that the more recent Reports of the English Commissioners—including the last—give no such sickening details; but, on the contrary, ex-

* Many of our readers will remember that a case pretty similar to this created considerable excitement, some two or three years since, not only in this city, but throughout the country. The victim was a lady of New Orleans, who had been placed by her husband, for reasons best known to himself, in a certain private establishment in the neighborhood of New York, called a Lunatic Asylum. We do not now distinctly remember the circumstances; but, if we are not mistaken, the friends of the lady were obliged to have recourse to a writ of *habeas corpus* before the enterprising and conscientious proprietors of the "Asylum" would part with a boarder who paid so well. This lady, too, had good reason to call the "superintendent" her "keeper."

The case of the New Orleans lady reminds us very forcibly of a passage in the evidence of Sir John McNeill before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, in 1848. In reply to a question from Sir George Clerk, respecting the treatment of lunatics in private, as compared to public institutions, he said: "I have a very serious objection to placing them in private madhouses, with people [that is, *persons* who call themselves 'superintendents' or 'resident physicians'] who have no interest in taking charge of them, *but whose interest it is to feed them as cheaply and cure them as slowly as possible.*"

hibit various improvements which it is pleasant to contemplate.

In showing how much the improvements made in our own country were needed, we must necessarily be brief. There are many still living who will not be sorry for this; they will rather like it; for there are but few, even of the most tyrannical, who are indifferent to an exposure of their inhumanity, cruelty, and avarice. If such are exposed, however, they always find some pretext to assume an air of injured innocence. If they have no better excuse, they pretend that those making the *exposé* are actuated by the basest motives. Fortunately, in the cases to which we are about to refer there will be no room for accusations against us, since we can only take a passing glance at what others have said on the subject. Nor will we turn to the less enlightened parts of the country for illustrative instances; but, on the contrary, take them from Massachusetts, which is confessedly the most intelligent state in the Union. We shall also avoid all foreign testimony; in other words, we will allow Massachusetts writers to give their impressions of their own institutions. Thus, in the number of the *North American Review* for January, 1843, there is an article entitled "Insanity in Massachusetts," which is evidently that of a person who had carefully investigated the subject, and had no motive in detailing the facts but to tell the truth, and thereby relieve a large amount of human suffering by attracting the attention of the humane and generous to existing abuses. After some introductory remarks on the condition of the insane in Massachusetts, the writer observes:

"But such general description cannot convey an adequate idea of the utterly forlorn and degraded condition to which scores and hundreds of our brethren are reduced; we will, therefore, give some particular cases which we have ourselves witnessed during the last three months in places within thirty miles of Boston. In one of these towns we approached a large old building, like a farmhouse, and were about to inquire for the poorhouse, when our attention was attracted by a sort of cage or pen constructed at the end of a wood-shed facing upon the road. The thought occurred that it might be the cage of an insane person. We dismounted and approached the place, and looking through the bars, found it was a cage about six feet square. The floor was covered with trampled straw, and we saw only an old ragged and filthy coverlet in one corner; but as we looked more narrowly at this, a sudden motion of one side of it disclosed the head and face of a human being, which were hidden again as soon as the glaring eyes had been fixed for an instant upon us.

"The first shock was too painful to be described; to find humanity so utterly degraded; to see a human being crouching like a wild beast in his lair, caged up by the side of the public road, exposed to the gaze of every passer-by, unwashed, unshaven, unshorn, with no covering but a filthy coverlet, with not even a cup of water by his side, was

revolting beyond measure. * * * In the next town to this, we found in a shed adjoining the almshouse, and in an inclosure twelve feet long by about eight feet wide, made with oak plank and without any window, a middle-aged man stark mad, and in a state of entire nudity. His condition was about the same as that of the poor creature last described, except that his pen was larger, and was not exposed to the gaze of every passer-by; but he was in a state of entire privation of all the comforts, and even of the common decencies of life. The almshouse was clean, and the keeper's family seemed worthy, humane people, who took good care of all the inmates except the poor wretch in the shed; for him they seemed to think they had done all when they thrust through the narrow opening in his cage his daily allowance of food and drink.

"In another town, the keeper of the almshouse conducted us to a small out-building, where we found a young man of fair complexion, clad in a coarse woollen dress, leaning motionless as a statue against the wall, and his eyes cast sadly down upon the trampled straw, which was the only furniture of his solitary pen. Around his bare neck was an iron collar, from which hung a heavy iron chain, by which he was fastened to the wall. He had been crossed in love and had become a maniac; was pronounced incurable, sent back upon the town, and chained up for life, perhaps, like a wild hyena. Yet he seemed not to be dangerous; we approached him, spoke to him, lifted his chain, and examined his condition. * * *

"In another town, on inquiry at the almshouse, we were informed that there was one insane woman confined there. On requesting to see her, some reluctance was manifested, and a person was sent up stairs to make her decent, and to give her some kind of covering, as we were told that perhaps she was naked. We followed the attendant, and found in a large room an old woman lying in bed, apparently near her end, and on the other side of the room a woman about forty years of age extended upon the floor and covered with an old rug. This was the insane person, whom we found to be not furious, but quiet and timid. She was reluctant to rise, but when she did so we found that she was chained by the leg, and fastened to the wall. And this because the town would not afford the gentle sufferer an attendant to keep her out of harm; for we were told that she was not dangerous, but that she would wander about, or divest herself of her clothes, or perhaps hurt herself, and therefore they chained her up. * * *

"In the next inclosure, separated only by coarse plank which hardly obstructed vision, was a poor trembling, comely girl, scarcely seventeen years old. She was not insane, nor entirely idiotic, they said, but only silly. And for this she was confined in a pen far away from any of her sex, in close proximity with a half-naked, yelling maniac, and within a few feet of a gibbering idiot! Of all the sad sights we saw in that town, the image of this poor girl will rest longest on the memory. As we unfastened the door of her wretched apartment and entered it, she slunk trembling away and crouched whining in a corner, and as we stretched out a hand towards her, she screamed as if anticipating a blow; but when we placed it gently on her head and spoke in kindly tones to her, the screams subsided into a giggling laugh, which was not so silly but that it indicated pleasure, and we thought gratitude, for unexpected kindness."

If the reader who has carefully read all the testimony from various sources which we have adduced in this article as to

the treatment of the insane even so recently as twenty or twenty-five years ago, will visit some of the principal hospitals for the insane in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Rhode Island; such institutions, for example, as the Pennsylvania Hospital for the insane, Philadelphia; Butler Hospital for the Insane, Providence, R. I.; State Lunatic Asylum, Utica, N. Y.; State Lunatic Asylum, Worcester, Mass.; Retreat for the Insane, Hartford, Conn.; N. Y. City Lunatic Asylum, Blackwell's Island, &c., then he will be able to form an adequate estimate of the amount of good accomplished within a comparatively brief period.

Nearly all the asylums just mentioned are among the several which we have visited within the last six months, and in each case their superintendents have evinced a disposition not only to communicate every important fact relative to the treatment of those under their charge, but to show us any departments of their institutions which it was proper for us to see. In those instances in which we did not happen to find the superintendents at home, or in which we were not able to visit the asylums, we have been courteously favored with their Reports for years, generally accompanied with the assurance that any further information we might desire for the public benefit would be cheerfully furnished. For the politeness thus shown, we have to return our particular thanks to Drs. Thomas S. Kirkbride, Isaac Ray, John S. Butler, and Moses H. Ranney; gentlemen who are so well known as eminent physicians and philanthropists, that it is needless for us to mention in connection with their names the institutions to which they belong, and which they have contributed so much to render famous.

Indeed, all to whom we have applied on the subject, whether personally or by letter, with the sole exception of the superintendent of the Bloomingdale Asylum, cheerfully and promptly furnished us all the statistics and other information within their reach. Perhaps the only reason why Dr. D. Tilden Brown declined to give us any information relative to his institution was, that his time was too valuable. But without going any farther for a comparison, Dr. Ranney, of the Blackwell's Island Asylum, had more than five times as many patients to attend to—an excess of the difference between 805 and 151—and yet the latter not only gave us information cheerfully on every subject in reference to which we sought it, but accompanied us to every part of the Asylum, explaining or describing as we proceeded whatever seemed to require either. True, Dr. Brown sent one of his assistants to show us certain parts of the house, but the only information worth mentioning given

by him was, that a portion of land belonging to the Asylum would be sold for about $20,000. This, however, was not intended for us, but for a gentleman who had much more money at command. It is but justice to Dr. Brown to say that we could not regard his course towards ourselves as any personal discourtesy, since he pursued the same towards the president of a college who brought a fine amateur band, consisting of his own students, to perform before the patients, as it seems he had done more than once before. Kindness and philanthropy like this merited at least a cordial recognition, but the humane president was treated quite as cavalierly as we were ourselves.

We must confess it seemed to us that there was an air of mystery about the whole institution; nay, it looked more like a prison than an asylum. Not that there were any shackles, fetters, or other iron chains visible; we do not know that any such are used in the institution. But in any of the asylums which we have visited in Europe or America, we have never seen patients so sullen, sad and defiant. It seemed as if most of those at the Bloomingdale detested the officers, while those who were in a lighter mood ridiculed them as they passed, but avoided as much as possible being heard or seen. So far as we could judge, without being too inquisitive, only one patient had liberty to go outside the Asylum alone; and this one got charge of our horse and wagon; the assistant-superintendent regarding it as a very funny thing that he drove so briskly around the building, but without making any effort to stop him. We do not wish to make any comment for the present on certain scenes which attracted our attention in the interior of the institution; suffice it to say, that while passing one of the corridors one of the most respectable-looking of the patients threw some verses written with a pencil, by a graceful feminine hand, into our hat, of which the following lines will serve as a specimen:

"Alas! instead of Bloomingdale,
Call this in future weeping vale.
We're here, forsooth, because insane—
Ah no! it is for others' gain;
If sage as Plato, here we'd stay,
While those who sent us agreed to pay."

The paper on which these and some twenty more lines were inscribed was marked at the corner, in a different hand, as if by another patient, "More truth than poetry." If the author, whether male or female, was insane, it must be admitted that the insanity was of that kind which has some method in it.

The grounds in the immediate vicinity of the asylum are undoubtedly very beautiful. Finely wooded, as they are, well

laid out, and interpersed with handsome gravel walks, they are calculated to afford the patients various means of wholesome, invigorating and safe amusement. The scenery seen from the windows, however, seemed to us as partaking too much of the wild and romantic to be suitable for insane patients, who, according to the best writers on the subject, including Pinel, Tuke, Morel, and Halsam, require scenery of an ordinary character—"such as lays no strong hold on the imagination." If all is right, however, save the scenery, the wildness of the latter we consider but a slight drawback. Investigation is the truest test; and the public has as indisputable a right to examine the character of any institution claiming its patronage, as an individual has to examine a hat or a pair of shoes before he purchases it.

The magnificent establishment on Blackwell's Island does credit even to the great Commercial Metropolis of America. The city that has the spirit to afford such an institution for the benefit of its pauper insane, may well boast of its munificence and generosity; for it is more like a palace than an asylum for the indigent. And highly prepossessing as the exterior of the building is, the feeling which it inspires is well sustained by the admirable arrangement and order of the interior. But for no characteristic did it seem to us more worthy of praise than for its scrupulous cleanliness.

In no other institution of equal extent have we seen so many of the patients enjoying full liberty in the open air—some sitting, some standing, others walking about, and almost all formed into groups, each group consisting of those who appeared to have some sympathy for each other. Not unfrequently these carry on lively and earnest, if not logical or persuasive, discussions. Male and female evince great regard for the superintendent. Whenever he made his appearance he was welcomed with smiles and kind words, which shows that even among the insane kindness begets kindness. There is scarcely a variety of mental disease of which Dr. Ranney did not show us an interesting specimen. As he introduced us to an old woman who fancies herself the wife of ex-President Buchanan, and to a middle-aged man who fancies himself a millionaire, we were forcibly reminded of Esquirol's description of the monomaniacs; among whom, says that distinguished writer, "the passions are gay and expansive; enjoying a sense of perfect health, of augmented muscular power, and of general well-being, this class of patients seize upon the cheerful side of everything; satisfied with themselves, they are content with others. They are happy, joyous, and communicative; they sing, laugh and dance. Controlled by vanity and self-love, they delight in their own vainglorious convictions, in their thoughts of grandeur, power,

and wealth. They are active, petulant, inexhaustible in their loquacity, and speaking constantly of their felicity."

There is a good deal that is interesting in Dr. Ranney's Report for 1862. He discusses with considerable ability the plea of insanity so often made in favor of criminals. We make room for an extract, the reasoning of which is forcible and just.

"A good illustration of the effects of public prejudice is given by two trials for murder in an adjoining state, in which the separate verdicts seem to hold to each other the relation of cause and effect. In 1851, Margaret Geratty was tried in New Jersey for the assassination of her seducer. The seduction was accomplished under a promise of marriage, and the subsequent treatment was of a most aggravating character. Public sympathy was strongly roused in her favor, and, much to the surprise of all, the verdict of the jury declared her 'not guilty, on the ground of insanity.' Six physicians were immediately appointed by the court to examine the alleged lunatic, who reported they could find no evidence of 'unsound mind,' and in accordance with this opinion she was discharged from custody. In 1859, Patrick Maude was executed for the murder of his sister. Two years previous he attempted to kill his wife, and although tried and convicted, was found to be of unsound mind and sent to the asylum at Trenton. He effected his escape, and two days after committed the murder. On his trial it was shown that before and after the homicide he manifested *insane delusions*, and his whole course of conduct while in the asylum and in prison, as well as his noted speech on the gallows, proved conclusively that he was insane. But there had been a reaction in the mind of the community. The plea of insanity had been used in a former case to defraud justice of its due, and now a victim must be offered, though in the person of one who on every ground, not only of justice, but of common humanity, ought to be spared. The issue of the former trial seems, then, as intimated, to hold to that of the latter the relations of cause to effect, and I think the experience of medical gentlemen who have often been called as witnesses, will corroborate the statement that, even the attempt to prove a party irresponsible in an improper case, increases the chances of conviction in a subsequent trial where the individual is truly insane."

We may now observe that we should not have deemed it necessary to say anything in this article of the treatment or prevalence of insanity in the remote past, were it not that it has been a common habit with a certain class of writers in this country to attribute the increase of insanity to the progress of civilization. A superficial glance at the subject would, indeed, seem to justify this opinion, but only a superficial glance. In the article on Mental Diseases in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* there are some observations which favor this doctrine. As soon as the article was published it was severely criticised for this reason; and its arguments were effectually refuted by the leading medical journals of Europe. Yet we do not know one of our writers that has since written on the

subject who has not adopted the same theory. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* has said such and such; therefore they think it must be true. It is high time that this sort of thing should cease. Men who undertake to enlighten the public should try to form opinions of their own. Far be it from us to speak depreciatingly of the *Encyclopædia Britannica;* it is undoubtedly a great work, and a great authority; in our opinion it has no superior of its kind. All we assert is, that it is not infallible; that some of its most learned and able writers may make remarks the correctness of which they would not insist upon themselves on more mature reflection. The case under consideration is an instance of this kind. Indeed, there is sufficient in the article itself to refute the theory in question. Even its statistics would do so. "The following table," says the writer, "constructed from various sources, shows its frequency (that of insanity) in some of the more highly civilized states, compared to the population:

	One in each
"In Italy	4,879
" Rhenish Provinces	1,000
" France	1,000
" Westphalia	846
" Belgium	816
" United States	721
" England	578
" Denmark	549
" Scotland	370
" Norway	329
" Iceland	311"

Any intelligent person who examines this table will see that, far from showing that people become insane in proportion as they make progress in civilization, it has precisely the opposite tendency. Were we to judge from this table, we should come to the conclusion that Norway and Iceland are the most highly civilized countries in Europe; and with the exception of Italy, we should, on the same grounds, assign to France and the Rhenish provinces the lowest rank in civilization, because they have the fewest insane in proportion to their population. In the same article we are told that "*vast epidemics of insanity spread over Europe at various periods of the dark ages.*"* Among these epidemics the author very properly includes lycanthropy, vampyrism, the dancing mania, &c., &c. Can it be said that it was a high degree of civilization that produced these? Nay, was it not the reverse? Were we to examine the histories of all nations, ancient and modern, we should find similar results. At no period were there fewer insane in Greece than

* Vol. xiv., p. 527.

when it was in the zenith of its intellectual glory—that is, in the time of Demosthenes, Æschylus, and Euripides; in Rome, also, there was less insanity in the Augustan age, in proportion to the population, than at any other period of her history.

There are two epochs in the history of every nation when the number of its insane is greatest—one is the period of its greatest ignorance; the other, that in which its civilization begins rapidly to decline. No facts are better attested than these. Were it otherwise, we should regard the development of the human mind as a curse rather than a blessing; in other words, we should regard education, without which there can be no civilization worthy of the name, as having a tendency, not to improve, but to pervert our reasoning faculties. But it would be as logical and scientific to assert that the more any muscle of the body is used without unnecessary violence, the weaker it becomes, or the greater is its tendency to paralysis. Fortunately, we have proof enough that, taking any particular race, it is those who think least, not those who think most, who are most liable to insanity. The statistics of France, Germany, England, Italy, and Spain, prove conclusively that the lowest class of farmers, laborers, and domestic servants exhibit a far greater tendency to insanity than any other class whatever; and in every instance in which similar statistics have been carefully kept in this country, the same general results have been found. One or two examples will illustrate this. Thus we copy two tables from Dr. Kirkbride's Report of the Pennsylvania Hospital for the Insane for 1861, which speak for themselves. It is only necessary to premise that the merchants, who rank next after the farmers, are, in nine cases out of ten, of the most illiterate class of those on whom the designation "merchant" is bestowed.

TABLE *showing the Occupation of* 2,096 *Male Patients.*

Farmers	297	Seamen and Watermens.	47	Public Officers	2
Merchants	202	Planters	29	Shipwright	1
Clerks	154	Manufacturers	45	Contractor	1
Physicians	41	Coachmen	3	Author	1
Lawyers	35	Druggists	14	Tanners	6
Clergymen	25	*Laborers*	162	Artists	18
Masons	21	Engineers	15	Hairdresser	1
Umbrella-makers	3	Plasterers	10	Police Officers	6
Printers	19	Bank Officer	1	Machinists	84
Teachers	35	Conveyancer	1	Plane-maker	1
Officers of the Army	7	Bookbinders	6	Iron-masters	2
" " Navy	12	Hatters	6	Weavers	25
Students	45	Rope-makers	3	Bricklayers	10
" of Medicine	14	Tinmen	13	Brickmakers	4
" of Law	5	Painters	15	Sail-makers	3
" of Divinity	8	Brush-maker	1	Cooper	1
Saddlers	11	Paper-hangers	2	Jewellers	12
Peddlers	10	Boat-builder	1	Potter	1
Tobacconists	20	Carver	1	Chair & Cabinet Makers.	22
Carpenters	72	Confectioners	11	Blacksmiths	27
Bakers	13	Coach-maker	1	Watchmakers	4

Hotel Keepers	27	Print Cutters	2	Victuallers	7
Second-hand Dealers	3	Curriers	2	Soldiers U. S. A.	5
Cap Manufacturer	1	Tailors	36	Brewer	1
Locksmiths	3	Shoemakers	67	Coach-trimmers	2
Millers	14	Brokers	6	Auctioneer	1
Glassblowers	2	Waiter	1	Plumber	1
Wheelwrights	6	Stove-makers	2	Type Founder	1
Gardeners	9	Dentists	2	No occupation	273
Chemists	4				

TABLE *showing the Occupation of* 1,851 *Female Patients.*

Seamstresses, or *Mantua-makers*	191	*Daughters of*		*Wives of*	
Storekeepers	16	Shoemakers	3	Carpenters	22
Attendants in stores	8	Druggist	1	Druggists	10
Cigar-makers	3	Artists	3	Planters	9
Teachers	45	Brickmaker	1	Peddlers	4
Domestics	209	Blacksmiths	2	Manufacturers	27
Nurses	11			Broker	1
Artists	3	Of the *Married* similarly situated were—		Tanners	5
Factory Girls	3	*Wives of*		Officers of the Army	4
Physician	1	Clerks	48	Officer of the Navy	1
		Teachers	10	Plumbers	3
Of the *Single* females, not pursuing a regular occupation, were—		*Farmers*	170	Blacksmiths	7
		Brass Founders	4	Bakers	4
Daughters of		Gardeners	5	Confectioners	2
Farmers	95	Saddlers	4	Hair-dresser	1
Merchants	97	Printers	4	Contractors	2
Masons	2	Machinists	16	Dentist	1
Bank Officers	4	Masons	2		
Weavers	5	Painter	1	Of the *Widows* similarly situated were—	
Laborers	16	Stage Owners	2		
Sea Captains	3	Cutler	1	*Widows* of	
Auctioneer	1	Bank Officers	5	Merchants	39
Innkeepers	3	Innkeepers	21	Physicians	5
Teachers	6	Plasterers	2	Public Officers	9
Carpenters	8	Engineers	6	Sea Captains	5
Paper-makers	2	Artists	10	Hotel Keepers	3
Physicians	9	Bricklayers	2	Shoemakers	18
Planters	19	Collectors	3	Clergymen	3
Watchmaker	1	Brickmakers	3	*Farmers*	37
Curriers	3	Seamen	8	Coopers	3
Clerks	20	Merchants	113	*Laborers*	20
Engineer	1	Physicians	18	Manufacturers	8
Clergymen	5	Lawyers and Judges	20	Lawyers	4
Miller	1	Shoemakers	24	Carpenters	4
Public Officers	13	Hatters	4	Clerks	6
Officer of Army	1	Cabinet-makers	12	Tanner	1
" Navy	1	*Laborers*	114	Teachers	2
Lawyers	10	Grocers	5	Planters	5
Machinists	5	Clergymen	13	Bricklayers	2
Brick-layers	2	Tobacconists	3	Painter	1
Chair-maker	1	Weavers	10	Seamen	7
Manufacturers	4	Sea Captains	2	Engravers	2
Tailors	3	Victuallers	7	Engineers	4
Waterman	1	Brush-makers	2	Machinists	3
Bakers	3	Tailors	15	Mason	1
Printers	4	Millers	4	Printer	1
		Police Officers	4	Blacksmith	1

If the reader will carefully examine these tables, he will see that by far the largest proportion of the patients belong to those classes who have least to do with civilization, or who, in other words, make least use of their intellectual faculties. But let us add a little more evidence of the same kind. It may be said that Pennsylvania does not form a fair criterion, as it is chiefly agricultural; although it should be borne in mind how large a proportion of the population reside in cities. However, the same objection cannot be urged against the statistics

of Connecticut, and it will be seen from the reports of Dr. Butler, of the Retreat for the Insane, at Hartford, that there is a similar preponderance of the same classes in his institution. We can only make room for a small fragment from one of the tables in his report for 1862.

OCCUPATION OF 1,315 MALES AND 1,605 FEMALES, EMBRACING THOSE NOW IN THE RETREAT, AND THOSE ADMITTED SINCE APRIL 1ST, 1843.

Males.				*Females.*	
Farmers	388	Sash and Blind Makers	4	Domestic Pursuits	1,062
Merchants	106	Druggists	3	Domestics	79
Day-Laborers	96	Ship-Riggers	3	Teachers	67
Clerks	57	Notaries	3	Seamstresses	55
Students	40	Engineers	3	Factory-Girls	38
Mechanics	34	Silversmiths	3	School-Girls	31
Carpenters	33	Wheelwrights	3	Tailoresses	20
Lawyers	29	Woollen Spinners	3	Milliners	15
Shoemakers	29	Harness-Makers	3	Carpet-Weavers	8
School-Boys	24	Sail-Makers	3	Nurses	4
Physicians	23	Hotel-Keepers	3	Clerks	3
Teachers	21	Carriage-Makers	3	Laundress	1
Seamen	19	Factory Boys	3	Shoe-Binder	1
Book-keepers	19	Boarding-House Keepers	2	Hat-Trimmer	1
Blacksmiths	17	Ship-Builders	2	Bookbinder	1
Painters	15	Stone-Cutters	2	No occupation	136
Clergymen	12	Comb-Makers	2	Unknown	63
Tailors	11	Restaurant-Keepers	2		
Burnishers	4	Architects	2	Total,	1,605
		Bleachers	2		

In turning to a similar table in the Annual Report of the trustees of the Massachusetts State Lunatic Asylum, at Worcester, we find that for 13 lawyers, 4 editors, 2 physicians and 1 painter, 505 farmers, 408 laborers, 229 shoemakers, and 104 sailors have been inmates of the institution. And the female patients exhibit similar results. Thus, for 64 female teachers and 2 printers received into the asylum since 1833, there have been 1,119 housekeepers and 333 seamstresses. None will deny that a milliner requires to exercise her intellectual faculties more than a seamstress; and accordingly we find only 31 of the former, for 332 of the latter. From a glance at the Report of the managers of the New York State Lunatic Asylum, at Utica, for 1862, we see that for 40 farmers, 82 housekeepers, and 30 engaged in "house-work" admitted into the institution during the past year, there have been only 2 physicians, 2 students, 1 painter, and 1 surveyor. Dr. Gray, the intelligent superintendent, who furnishes these statistics, gives us the additional information, that of 287 patients admitted, only six received even a nominal collegiate education, and only three an academic education. All the rest belong to that class who, in the strict sense of the term, scarcely ever think, not to speak of their driving themselves mad by undue use of their intellectual faculties.

In a paper on "Insanity and Hospitals for the Insane," contributed by Pliny Earle, M.D., to the *National Almanac* for

1863, we find the following curious specimen of logic, bearing on this subject:

"Agreeably to the well-known law of physiology that the more an organ is healthfully used the more it becomes developed, the average brain of the civilized man has become larger than that of the savage, and, having thus *lost its natural relative proportion* to the body, and being called more frequently and energetically into action, its power is more likely to be used to exhaustion, and hence it is more liable to disease. The manifold artificial habits and customs of civilization tend to increase this liability, *until the enlightened man beholds, as it were, the chasm of insanity yawning before him at every hour and at every step.*"—P. 56.

This being translated into the vulgar tongue, means something like the following: "My dear readers, be careful that you do not make yourselves too enlightened, or exercise your reasoning faculties more than you should; for if you do your heads will grow so large that they will become too heavy for your bodies, and then you are in danger of running mad at every step you take. The heads of savages are just the right size to be free from insanity; therefore your wisest plan is to be as much like savages as possible." Dr. Pliny Earle thinks it a dangerous thing to call one's brain "frequently and energetically into action." This, perhaps, may account for some of the conclusions he has arrived at in his article. Dr. Kirkbride, it seems, has furnished him some valuable statistics, but he has put them together so clumsily that they become as useless as a mind the faculties of which are deranged from excess of enlightenment.

In our humble opinion, influences that *prevent* the head from growing have much more to do with the production of insanity than those which serve to develop the brain—influences such as habitual intoxication, impure air, unwholesome food, &c. Thus, Guislain tells us that "he has known *a whole generation of lunatics* born of a mother who was habitually intoxicated for a series of years, although neither she, her husband, nor any of their families were predisposed to insanity. He has also known epileptic children born of drunken parents, neither of whom were epileptic or predisposed to disease of the brain." We dare say that even Dr. Earle would not venture to assert that "a whole generation of lunatics" were born of a mother driven to insanity by an excess of enlightenment, or by an undue use of her reasoning faculties. One word more, and we are done with the learned doctor's theory. It is pretty generally admitted that the city of Paris occupies the highest rank in European civilization; in other words, the seat of the French Academy is the most enlightened capital in Europe; but it has fewer laboring under mental disease, in proportion

to its population, than many districts whose inhabitants are distinguished chiefly by their ignorance and poverty. Thus we are told that

"Idiocy exists to a very great extent in certain districts where goitre or bronchocele (an enlargement of a structure in the neck) is found to prevail. These districts are mostly the valleys at the foot of lofty mountains, *where the air is stagnant and humid.* This disease is called *cretinism.* It prevails to an enormous extent in some portions of Switzerland, Sardinia, and Austria. In the Canton du Valais, 1 *in every* 25 *inhabitants* is a cretin; in the Canton de Vaud, 1 in every 27, and in the Canton d'Uri, 1 in every 83; in Judenburg, in Austria, there is 1 to every 53 of the population, and in Bruck, 1 in every 74. In Upper Austria, along the banks of the Danube, *whole families consist of cretins,* and in some *villages* of from 4,000 to 5,000 inhabitants *not one was found capable of bearing arms.* In many other *mountainous districts* in Europe *and other parts of the globe* this endemic disease is found to exist."*

Let us visit what asylum we may in any part of the world, if all classes are admissible to it, we shall be sure to find three-fourths of the inmates, if not of the illiterate, at least of the unthinking class. Of the 805 patients at Blackwell's Island, we doubt whether 20 had been used to the habitual exercise of their reasoning faculties. Nine out of every ten belong to the laboring class—the remainder, with few, if any, exceptions, to the humbler class of mechanics. Even at the Bloomingdale Asylum, which, we believe, purports to be somewhat aristocratic, quite two-thirds of its 151 patients belong to the unthinking class. Nay, if it contains a single individual that ever distinguished himself in intellectual pursuits, we have seen or heard nothing of him. In short, it matters not what state or country we turn to, the general results are the same; knowledge and science vindicate themselves against the charge of their having a tendency to pervert and annihilate the reasoning faculties, rather than strengthen and guide them. We might fill whole pages with the briefest expressions of opinion on this subject by the most careful and conscientious investigators of ancient and modern times; but it will be sufficient, in addition to the facts and figures already adduced, to give the result of the life-long experience of one to whom the insane owe more than to any other philanthropist or scientific man of modern times. We need hardly say we mean Dr. Pinel, who, after describing the classes of persons that filled the registers of the Bicêtre—chiefly the lower order—a large proportion from the country—remarks: "*But there did not appear one of those persons accustomed to the equal and habitual exercise of their intellectual faculties; not one naturalist, or natural philosopher of*

* *Encyc. Brit.*, vol. 14, p. 539.

*ability; not one chemist; and, for stronger reasons, not one geometrician."**

Even in those instances in which insane patients are registered as physicians, lawyers, clergymen, authors, teachers, &c., &c., if due inquiry be made, it will be found in nine cases out of ten, that they are but half-educated persons, who, in their sanest days, had little intellect; whereas, if we examine the history of the exceptions, those possessed of both talent and education, or even genius of a high order, it is more than probable that we shall find the predisposition to insanity hereditary. This is true, for example, of Dean Swift, Cowper the poet, and Sir Isaac Newton. Admitting that each of these illustrious men had attacks of insanity, does it follow that the habitual exercise of their intellectual faculties was the cause of them? It is much more logical to conclude that that exercise, and the education which qualified them for it, saved them from a worse state of mental disease. At worst, when men of education in the habit of exercising their intellectual faculties do become insane, even then the gentle influence of civilization is apparent in their conduct; for how rarely do such men attempt to kill their friends or fellow-patients, or to commit any other outrage, as patients who had not the same advantages are so liable to do!

But there is a spurious civilization which some, who do not like the trouble of study and investigation, mistake for the real thing, and they form their conclusions accordingly. This class of public instructors think Pope was very absurd in saying that "a little learning is a dangerous thing;" what he should have said is, that much learning is dangerous. But the philosopher-poet was right. It is a little learning that has produced witchcraft and witch-burning, Millerism, Mormonism, and a thousand other monstrosities, which are but varieties of insanity. This reminds us of some very judicious and forcible remarks in one of the Annual Reports of Dr. Ray, Superintendent of the Butler Hospital for the Insane, at Providence, R. I. In speaking of that morbid craving on the part of a very large class for the strange and wonderful, and the various means used by the unprincipled and avaricious for pandering to it, Dr. Ray observes:

"The records of every popular public library will show, I apprehend, that of the books most called for within a given period, more than half are novels. The effect of this kind of reading on the mental health is what we have to consider in the present inquiry. Of course, it varies with the character of each individual mind, and with the circumstances that accompany it. Generally speaking, however, there can be no ques-

* *Traité Médico-Philosophique sur l'Aliénation Mentale, ou La Manie*, p. 111.

tion that excessive indulgence in novel-reading necessarily enervates the mind and diminishes its power of endurance. In other departments of literature, such as biography and history, the mental powers are more or less exercised by the ideas which they convey. Facts are stored up in the memory, hints are obtained for the farther pursuit of knowledge, judgments are formed respecting character and actions, original thoughts are elicited, a spirit of investigation is excited, and, more than all, life is viewed as it really has been and must be, lived. *A mind thus furnished and disciplined is provided with a fund of reserved power to fall back upon when assailed by adverse forces*, which all of us, in some shape or other, at some time or other, must expect to encounter. In novel-reading, on the contrary, the mind passively contemplates the scenes that are brought before it, and which, being chiefly addressed to the passions and emotions, naturally please without the necessity of effort or preparation. Of late years, a class of books has arisen, the sole object of which is to stir the feelings, not by ingenious plots, not by touching the finer cords of the heart and skilfully unfolding the springs of action, not by arousing our sympathies for unadulterated, unsophisticated goodness, truth, and beauty, for that would assimilate them to the immortal productions of Shakespeare and Scott, but by *coarse exaggerations of every sentiment, by investing every scene in glaring colors*, and, in short, by every possible form of *unnatural excitement*. In all this there is little or no addition to one's stock of knowledge, no element of mental strength is evolved, and no one is better prepared by it for encountering the stern realities of life. The sickly sentimentality which craves this kind of stimulus *is as different from the sensibility of a well-ordered mind, as the crimson flush of disease from the ruddy glow of health.* A mind that seeks its nutriment chiefly in books of this description *is closed against the genial influences that flow from real joy and sorrow, and from all the beauty and heroism of common life.**"

If reading this class of novels is to be considered as a proof of that high degree of enlightenment which is essential to superior civilization, then, indeed, we admit that enlightenment has the effect of rendering some weak minds weaker still; but there is really as great a difference between the habitual reading of such books and the intellectual exercises of true civilization in their effects on the mind, as there is between deleterious food and wholesome food in their effects on the body. But we find that our remarks have far transcended the bounds we had prescribed for them. We will, however, return to the subject, for it is one that has not hitherto received in this country the attention which its importance deserves.

* Report for 1860, pp. 25, 26.

ART. II.—1. *The Secret History of Clubs in London, with their Originals, and the Characters of the most noted thereof.*

2. *The Clubs of London.* 2 vols. London. 1828.

3. *The London Clubs; their Anecdotes and History.* London. 1853.

CLUBS are by no means the modern creations which they might be supposed to be, by those who survey the present gorgeous edifices in St. James's Street and Pall Mall, but have existed in England at least since the days of Shakespeare. One of the works at the head of this article, indeed, supplies us with some singular details of one established by Ben Jonson, and to which "the Divine Williams," as he is termed by a recent French annotator, was doubtless in the habit of resorting; but its rules, drawn in the choicest Latinity, are too recondite for modern readers.*

This club, however, apparently was not the first; for another, named the Mermaid, held at a tavern of that name in an obscure street now known as Friday Street, in the British metropolis, is supposed to have preceded it. Sir Walter Raleigh is believed to have been the founder of this primitive institution, and here is popularly said to have first astonished the world by eating a potato and smoking tobacco, though the authority of both of these feats has been questioned by a skeptical posterity. Beaumont and Fletcher, Cobham, and a host of congenial spirits were members with Raleigh; and the raciness of the entertainments may be inferred from the lines of the great twin-dramatist first mentioned:

> "What things have we seen
> Done at the Mermaid! Heard words that have been
> So nimble and full of the subtlest flame,
> As if that every one from whom they came
> Had meant to put his whole soul in a jest."

* We shall not attempt a translation of these into modern English; but the following verses, written by the immortal Ben himself, and placed under a bust of the illustrious bricklayer surmounting the door, are too good and original to be omitted. The Club, held at a noted tavern named "The Devil," we shall only premise was named "The Apollo."

> "Welcome all who lead or follow
> To the *Oracle of Apollo;*
> Here he speaks out of his pottle,
> Or of his briper, a tonic bottle;
> All his answers are divine,
> Truth itself still flows in wine.
> Hang up all poor hop-drinkers,
> Cries old Sim, the prince of Skinkers:
> He the half of life abuses
> That sits nabing with the muses:
> Those dull girls no good can mean us,
> Wine alone's the milk of Venus,
> And the poet's horse accounted;
> Try it, and you all are mounted.
> 'Tis the true Phœbeian liquor
> That cheers the brain, makes wit the quicker,
> Pays all debts, cures all diseases,
> And at once their senses pleases.
> Welcome all who lead or follow
> To this Temple of Apollo."

These lines by Beaumont, however, alone now survive; all other records of this, as well as of "The Devil," or "Apollo," are extinguished for ever. Probably one of the earliest associations of the kind established in London was "The Surly Club," which is thus described by one of the satirists of the day: "This wrangling society was chiefly composed of master-carmen, lightermen, old Billingsgate porters, and rusty, tun-belly'd badge watermen, and kept at a mungril tavern near Billingsgate-dock, where city dames us'd to treat their journeymen with sneakers of punch and new oysters. The principal ends that the members propos'd, in thus convening themselves together once a week, were to exercise the spirit of contradiction, and to teach and perfect one another in the art and mystery of foul language, that they might not want impudence to abuse passengers upon the Thames, gentlemen in the street, lash their horses for their own faults, and curse one another heartily when they happen'd to meet and jostle at the corner of a street. He that could put on a countenance like a boatswain in hard weather, and growl and snarl like a curst mastiff over a bullock's liver, was a member fit for the thwarting society; and the more indirect answers, or surly impertinent returns he could make to any question, the more he was respected for his contradictory humor and cross-grain'd abilities."

Another curious club of this period was "The No Nose Club," and which owed its origin to a whimsical gentleman, who, taking a fancy to the sight of a large party of noseless persons, invited all he met in the streets to dine at a certain day. The result is very humorously described in the "Secret History of the Clubs." The first meeting of the noseless tribe was much larger than might have been supposed. Nor was any club of the day better attended, or sustained as long as its eccentric founder lived, which unhappily was only one year. An extract from the elegy written on his death shows the estimation in which he was held by the noseless fraternity.

"Mourn for the loss of such a generous friend,
Whose lofty Nose no humble snout disdain'd;
But tho' of Roman height, could stoop so low
As to soothe those who ne'er a Nose could show.

Ah! sure no noseless club could ever find
One single Nose so bountiful and kind.
But now, alas! he's sunk into the deep,
Where neither kings or slaves a Nose shall keep.

But where proud Beauties, strutting Beaux, and all,
Must soon into the noseless fashion fall,
Thither your friend in complaisance is gone,
To have Nose, like yours, reduced to none."

The satirists of the day had no very high opinion of the in-

fluence of the club system, either on members or on the public at large; and there are those who entertain a similar opinion of the clubs of the present day. "Most considerate men," says the author of 'Secret Clubs,' "who have ever been engaged in such sort of compotations, have found, by experience, that the general end thereof is a promiscuous encouragement of *vice, faction, and folly, at the unnecessary expense of that time and money* which might be better employed in their own business, or spent with much more comfort in their several families."

These clubs, we may add, seem to have been of a very different order from the modern magnificent establishments which have succeeded.* They and their compeers were usually held in some humble tavern or public house, and geniality was their chief recommendation. This form of club continued long in fashion amongst all ranks of Englishmen, and it is still prevalent amongst a great majority of the shopkeepers and middling classes. A pot and a pipe, with suitable gossip, are now the sole recommendation.

Neither of the authors whose works we have quoted at the head of this article seems to have been able to trace any record of the institutions to whose history they have devoted themselves, in the days of the first or second of the Stuarts. But, if we may infer from the glowing pages of Sir Walter Scott, there is little doubt that they flourished during the reign of the sagacious poet who believed in witchcraft, and possibly may have existed in the earlier days of his more refined successor, Charles I.; though we can easily conceive that towards the end of this monarch's unhappy career all traces of such genial resorts must have disappeared under the auspices of such exquisite fanatics as "Praise-God Barebones" and "Kill-Sin Pimple."

But with the roystering days of the Restoration they returned, and they apparently were characterized by the gross profligacy and licentiousness which then supervened. Dryden was then one of their choicest spirits; but Sedley, Shaftesbury, Rochester, and a host of others, imparted to them an aspect of lawless revelry; and "the merry monarch" himself, as the

* In the preface to "The Secret History of the Clubs in London," the author makes some remarks, which it will be seen from the following specimen are pretty nearly as applicable to our own age and country as to any other: "Tagging of verse and writing of books are become as sharp trades in this keen age, as making of knives and scissors, and if the former, as well as the latter, are not well ground to a smart edge, they may lie upon the bookseller's stall till they are bought up by the band-box maker. Yet if they happen to be so sharp as to scratch a courtier on the forehead, cut an alderman for the simples, scarrify a knave that is but rich and powerful, cut off a leg that is not worth standing upon, or shave the smooth face of somebody who is fat withal,—there is presently a worse roaring with 'em than there is with a foolish child that has hook'd his fingers into a clasped knife," &c.

saturnine voluptuary, Charles the Second, has been named, is said occasionally to have frequented them. Once, indeed, he is recorded to have met with an unpleasant rebuff on entering an interesting assemblage, named "the Ugly Club," in disguise; for the president immediately arose and vacated the chair for his majesty's accommodation, being bound, by the laws of the institution, instantly to retire from the post of honor should he ever chance, when enthroned in it, to encounter an uglier fellow than himself.

A curious club in those days was "The Chief of Kings," so called from being composed solely of persons bearing this patronymic; but it must not be confounded with the far more celebrated "King's Head Club," which consisted of the more turbulent and inferior members of the court. Acts of "bravour," as they were termed, formed the chief objects of its members, but they were in reality only those of unbridled license. The conduct of the desperadoes who frequented it, and then occupied themselves mainly in hunting down the unhappy republicans, was alike disgraceful to the era and revolting to humanity.

Under the reign of "the dull Dutchman," William III., as he is irreverently termed by one of these writers, clubs appear to have degenerated into mere assemblages of drinking bouts; though two of the most noted of existing English clubs—"Brookes's" and "White's"—then took their rise. Both have long retained an ascendency in England; and the former especially, as the head-quarters of the Whigs, has exerted a powerful influence on the government of the country. It still, indeed, maintains to a considerable extent its original vigor; though none but rigid Whigs are now admitted to its portals. The annals of the modern club are, at the present day, dull enough; but towards the end of last century and beginning of the present, it was otherwise; and some of the most brilliant scintillations of wit from Fox, Burke, Sheridan and others, then daily or hourly sparkled in its precincts.

Selwyn, the savage wit, was a member of Brookes's, and spared neither high nor low in the infliction of his satire, though he chiefly bestowed it on the latter. Meeting one day a pompous upstart who had been the son of a stable-keeper, and appointed a Commissioner of Taxes by the influence of the notorious Duke of Incansburg, "So," said he, "you've been *installed* here, have you?" "Yes," said the other, "and without taking a single step in the matter." "I believe you, Sir," rejoined George, who was supposed to have coveted the place himself; "reptiles can neither walk nor *take steps;* nature ordained them to crawl."

It does not appear, however, to have been then so exclusive as it subsequently became. One Sir Robert Macraith, who had been originally a waiter, and afterwards obtained a considerable fortune by marriage, on announcing his intention of purchasing "The Cocoa Tree," another noted resort, was slapped on the back by George, and told: "Right, it will then be *Bob* without and *robbing* (Robin) within." To the knight's lady, whom he was subsequently induced to visit, he was still more severe. Her father having been a pawnbroker when she informed him of her intention to "hang up her family heirlooms" in some gaudy apartment where they then stood, "I thought," said Selwyn, "they had been *hung up* long ago."

He sometimes, however, received a hard rub himself, more especially from Sheridan, who latterly threw him into the shade. George, in his age, became addicted to "the gentlemanly vice of avarice," though he still retained a passion for personal decoration, which had always distinguished him. "Can anything be more reasonable?" he said, displaying a waistcoat he had just purchased. "Can you conceive how they should have let me have it so cheap?" "Very easily," replied Sheridan; "they took you for one of the *trade*, and sold it to you wholesale." It was in revenge for this hit that Selwyn fabricated his celebrated story against Sheridan, whom he represented as intending to *do* a tailor out of a suit of clothes by blarneying the artist as one whose work "did him infinite credit." "Yes," replied the snip, who was not to be done, "my work brings me *credit*, and my customers *ready money*."

Dunning, the celebrated barrister, subsequently Lord Ashburton, was a member of Brookes's, and many passes of wit were there interchanged between him and other politicians of the club, especially on the score of his own and his mother's economy. Dunning, however, appears to have been a sensible man, and though most successful as a barrister, stood in wholesome awe of the law himself. A neighboring farmer having on one occasion cut down a tree on his premises, Dunning's butler threatened him with a lawsuit, and informed his master of the threat. "Did you?" said Dunning; "then you'll carry it on, for I shan't."

Of "White's" fewer anecdotes are recorded; the Tory party, of whom it chiefly consisted, being for the most part in office, and consequently having less time for indulging in these symposia. The wits, indeed, at Brookes's fabricated stories for it, one of which, relating to Dundas, the celebrated head of the English navy, was particularly good. Dundas, it seems, though popular with the higher classes, was by no means in equal estimation among the lower orders of his countrymen, the Scotch,

and on one occasion of visiting Edinburgh, was represented to have sent for a barber to operate on his chin. The barber being a practical jester, determined to amuse himself at the minister's expense. The statesman accordingly had no sooner been duly soaped than the following colloquy ensued: "We're much *obliged* to you, Mr. Dundas," said the operator, "for the part you lately took in London." "What," replied the statesman; "you a politician? I sent for a *barber*." "Oh, yes! I'll shave you directly," rejoined the other; "but meanwhile, take that, ye traitor!" and suddenly drawing the back of his razor across the obnoxious minister's throat, he hurried off. The blood started out, and the statesman was naturally alarmed. An outcry was raised, and half the faculty of the town were speedily in attendance, when, on removing his hand, which Dundas had kept firmly applied to his throat, it was found that the stream flowed solely from some artificial means which the impudent rogue had employed for the purpose of giving effect to his hoax, and that not a scratch was visible. The fellow consequently escaped unpunished; and his triumph was the greater as Dundas had the mortification of being laughed at, as well as of having to pay the zealous medical attendants.

Pitt, the celebrated premier, highly relished this anecdote, though the subject long remained a tender one with his subordinate, at whose expense the great minister frequently enjoyed a laugh, and uttered the only joke which he has ever been accused of perpetrating: "How is it," said some one on the occasion of a dinner at White's, "that the upper side of a sirloin is called the *Scotch?*" "Can't say," replied Dundas, to whom the interrogatory was addressed. "I'll tell you why," interrupted Pitt: "'tis because they always prefer the side that's uppermost."

The anecdotes connected with his name at White's are consequently few, and one recorded in the course of these pages is somewhat irreverent. It was rather, indeed, to the House of Commons that it applied; for, though represented by Fox as told at White's, it occurred in the Legislature. Pitt had an unscrupulous follower named Rose, whom he was always in the habit of putting forward when any assertion of unusual audacity required to be made; and it was on one of these occasions that he was positively electrified by the magnificence of his henchman's mendacity. "Now listen," said he, "Rose is going to tell a d——d lie," when the other stood up with solemn aspect and placed his hand impressively on his breast; and, "Splendid! is he not magnificent?" was the additional exclamation, as the other called on "the Ruler of the

Universe and the Great Searcher of Hearts" to bear witness to his falsehood.

The celebrated Beau Brummel was a member of White's, and was rarely seen beyond the streets in its precincts. He affected a horror, indeed, of being seen towards the Eastern or City end of London; but Sheridan once chanced to find him coming from that latitude. "What!" said Sherry, "you come from the East? Impossible!" "Why, my de—ar Sa—ar?" drawled the Beau. "Because the wise men come from the East," was Sheridan's reply. "So then, Sa—ar, you *think* me a fool?" demanded Brummel, with more energy than usual. "By no means," replied Sheridan, moving off, "I *know* you to be one."

These wits do not appear to have been marked by much good-nature; but Sheridan at this time was himself sometimes getting terrible rubs. Addressing Horne Tooke, who shortly before had published his celebrated "Portraits of Two Fathers and Two Sons," (the Earl of Chatham, Mr. Pitt, Lord Holland, and Mr. Fox,) he unwittingly said, "So, sir! you are the reverend gentleman who I am told draws portraits for amusement?" "Yes, sir," replied the stern democrat; "and if you'll do me the favor of sitting for yours, I'll draw it so faithfully that even you yourself will shudder."

Some doggerel at this time annoyed him much. He was represented to have written:

> "Since none with pen will *trust* me but a *goose*,
> And paper of all kinds I've little now to use,
> To my verses you may swear if you will,
> If inscribed on the back of a wine-merchant's bill;
> But observe, should there be a receipt at the end on't,
> They're none of Sherry's, you may depend on't."

These were supposed to have been provoked by a *jeu d'esprit* of Sheridan shortly before on Whitbread, the great porter-brewer, who had unexpectedly raised the price of his beer:

> "They've raised the price of table drink;
> What is the reason, do you think?
> The tax on *malt's* the cause, I hear—
> But what has malt to do with beer?"

But other clubs besides Brookes's and White's were famous during last century, especially the Beef-Steak Club, which also is, or was lately, in existence. It was established in the latter half of the seventeenth century, and owed its origin to the fact that some member of the peerage had called upon a noted actor, named Dickey Suett, at one of the larger London theatres, while the latter was engaged in cooking his dinner. A beef-steak constituted the sole repast; but it was cooked so tenderly, and his lordship enjoyed it so much, that he asked permission to return with a friend on the following day. The friend came, and so

much did the trio enjoy the *morceau* cooked in their presence, that a club was formed, to meet once every succeeding week; and it has been kept up ever since. Beef-steaks and port constitute the sole entertainment at this repast, and the custom is still rigidly adhered to of cooking the viand on a silver gridiron in presence of the members. The most celebrated men of the age have ranked among the number of these, including Fox, Burke, the noted Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Brougham. The two last were originally "six-bottle men," though the last has so reformed that he has become almost a teetotaller—warned, probably, by the premature fate of the other, who died in little beyond the prime of life, after having been accustomed to be carried nightly on the shoulders of six men triumphant to bed.

But by far the most noted London club of last century was the celebrated King of Clubs, formed by a noted hero, named Bobus Smith, who boasted of having whipped the Duke of Wellington, when a boy at Eaton. In union with him were the late Sir James Mackintosh, the Marquis of Lansdowne, recently deceased, and a few men of refinement who met for the purpose of uniting intellectual pursuits with social enjoyment. It assembled once a month, on a Saturday; and a celebrated talker of the period, named "Conversation Sharpe," was one of its principal attractions. The late Lord Holland, Sir James Scarlett, (afterwards Lord Abinger,) and Rogers, the banker-poet, also contributed to raise it to celebrity. Yet it never fully realized public expectations; for, by a strange coincidence, almost all its members failed in the House of Commons. Bobus himself but once ventured to speak in that fastidious assembly, and he retired crippled like a lame duck from its presence. Sharpe, though the most brilliant talker known in modern time, was not a whit more successful; and Mackintosh never achieved the parliamentary fame anticipated for him.

Yet some rare encounters of wit took place here. Lord Erskine, the celebrated orator, was one of the most conspicuous of its members, though he himself formed no exception to the list of parliamentary failures. Here he was accustomed to quiz Lord Kenyon, another member, for having presided twelve years in one court in the same pair of breeches; here he was accustomed, in his egotism, to recount his early triumphs; and here he was wont, amid the utter desolation of his age, to resort in his ultimate decline, accelerated by the vindictiveness with which the Prince of Wales pursued him for having accepted, when a member of his royal highness's household, a brief from the noted Tom Paine. Yet Wyndham, a high aristocrat, justified him for his conduct on this occasion, having

been entirely gained by the bold oratory of the demagogue in replying to Burke's celebrated pamphlet on the French Revolution. "Mr. Burke," said Paine, "pities the plumage, but he forgets the dying bird." "I could have hugged the greasy rogue on hearing this," said Wyndham, "he pleased me so."

It was one of the peculiarities of this club, that strangers could be admitted to it as honorary members, and impart as well as receive amusement. Amongst those so introduced was Curran, the great Irish orator; and Lord Avonmore, a celebrated Irish judge, was one of his constant butts.

The celebrated Lord Ward was also a brilliant member of this club, and used to banter Rogers the poet with merciless severity. Sam in those days was a sort of living skeleton, and his lordship was wont to ask him "why he did not keep his hearse?" Returning from Spa on one occasion, Rogers remarked that the place was so full he could not find even a bed. "Dear me," said Ward, "was there not room in the church-yard?" At another time, on being shown a portrait of Rogers, by Murray the publisher, who remarked that it was "done to the life," "to the death you mean," was his lordship's reply. But the banker-poet survived his torture, and shortly afterwards had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing him conveyed to a mad-house, after paying a London alderman the extraordinary compliment of addressing him in some such words as "your father was a good man, he was an excellent man; he had the best melted-butter I ever tasted in my life."

There was another noted King's Club, or King's Head Club, which used to be held at the University of Cambridge during last century, and of which Macaulay, the celebrated essayist and historian, was a member. Latterly, however, he was ashamed of having belonged to it; for a calf's head, served up on the anniversary of the unhappy Charles the First's execution, was its principal distinction.

These, together with a reunion named "The Literary Club," supposed to have been founded by Dr. Johnson, though latterly only distinguished for dulness, were the chief social institutions of last century; and, excepting Brookes's and White's, which have been modernized and kept pace with the times, they present no resemblance to the existing fashionable clubs, which are as much distinguished for elegance and gaudiness, as the former were for their homely appearance.

Externally, these modern clubs are amongst the most magnificent buildings of the British metropolis, and, so far as inward splendor is concerned, some of them throw the residences of the leading *noblesse*, and even of the sovereign, into the shade. They afford representations, too, of every style of ar-

chitecture, from the chaste modern Italian and Ionic columns, to the heavier massiveness and gorgeousness which belong to no known school of architecture, except the gigantic and ornate. A few of them are remarkable for incongruities of taste, and the discordant effects which naturally result from all attempts injudiciously to unite different and inherently inharmonious styles; but on the whole, they are amongst the most remarkable buildings of London, and such as are to be seen in equal variety and profusion in no other city whatever.

Though differing in their styles externally and in their internal arrangements, there is usually a considerable degree of similarity within the walls of a club, and certain features are common to all. Most of them have generally a striking hall or entrance. In some instances, access is obtained to this immediately from the street; but in general, by a small and comparatively unadorned vestibule, which renders the effect of the interior splendor the more striking.

In the vestibule generally sits a porter, who takes charge of the letters, &c., for the various members, and sees that no unauthorized person enters. Each member of the club is expected to leave his private address with the secretary; but this, of course, remains unknown to the rest of the world, and thus it is that half-pay lieutenants and individuals in similar circumstances, while frequenting these palatial establishments by day, are often found to reside or pass the night in some very modest *locale*.

From the interior of the vestibule a small waiting-room sometimes branches off, devoted to the reception of visitors. This, however, is by no means a general arrangement, strangers being usually looked upon with a jealous eye, and, excepting in one or two instances, utterly excluded from participating in the slightest degree in the benefits of the club. A few youthful Ganymedes, in the garb of pages, are also generally stationed about the vestibule, for the purpose of acting as running messengers, at so much per mile, for the members of the establishment.

From the hall in the interior branch off the various apartments of the edifice. These usually consist, on the ground floor, of a morning or lounging room, devoted to the reception of the various public journals, and where members assemble either to gather intelligence concerning the events of the day, or to conduct their correspondence, with the material for which, in the shape of stationery, the club freely supplies them. Adjoining this there is usually a coffe-room, on a larger scale, and often fitted up in a style of great splendor. In most clubs there is also generally a private dining-room, adorned in a degree

much less magnificent, in which the members of the club who chance to be on social terms with each other meet once a week or oftener for the purpose of having what is termed a "house-dinner." In all, viands of the most *recherché* description are supplied at something like cost price, and the cooking is almost invariably of the first-rate order; most clubs piquing themselves on the superiority of their *chef*, and the "artist" usually being a foreigner who has achieved high distinction in culinary annals. Some clubs, indeed, have owed their main celebrity to their cooks; and in a noted instance, where an illustrious *cuisinier* left, it was declared of a great establishment of this order, *Ilium fuit*—it was, or rather had been, Tray. The artist himself seems to have been aware of this, and it was positively touching to see him, after retiring from his situation of $5,000 a year, perambulating the streets in the neighborhood with all the subdued complacency of a retired or retiring premier, evidently convinced that the establishment or the country could not survive his fall. The lower floor of the edifice, it need not be mentioned, is chiefly devoted to the mysteries of the art over which this potentate presided; and in order that the whole may proceed with the regularity of science, the aid of steam is generally called into action, with the view of raising in befitting silence to the dining-table the *chef d'œuvres* from the Eleusinian shades below.

But it is on the first floor or upper part of a club that it is seen to most advantage. Here are the drawing-room, which is usually fitted up in a style of great elegance, though ladies are never, except on visiting days, permitted to enter its portals, and the library, which in some of these establishments is often an exceedingly spacious as well as amply stored hall. In one club, the Athenæum, the volumes are upwards of twenty thousand in number, and the whole are usually under the control of a resident librarian. Lounging-chairs, writing-tables, and like conveniences are here abundantly provided; and latterly, in some such apartment as this, when hard pressed by his creditors, the unhappy, defiant, scorning, but eventually scorned and neglected Theodore Hook wrote the greater part of his novels, undisturbed by all the buzz and hum of the more fortunate butterflies around him. Adjoining is usually a smaller withdrawing or card-room; but gaming, as well as excesses of every species, are no longer the *ton* in a club, and the stake is generally confined to half-guinea points.

The upper story of a club is usually devoted to a billiard-room, a smoking-room, and the offices of the domestics. It is almost always devoid of ornament, and concealed from the street by a parapet. In the instance of one club, however, the

Reform, there is a third floor, disclosed to spectators in all its glaring reality. It is hired out as lodgings, or sleeping apartments, to a few of its members; but the arrangement is not productive of good effect, so far as the eye is concerned, externally, and it neither has been nor can be considered worthy of adoption.

A club is usually under the control of a secretary, who receives his orders from a select committee of members, consisting of the most veteran *gourmands* and practised wine-bibbers of the house. On these gentlemen devolves the important duty of selecting the viands and tasting the wines; and as the responsibility is great, the experience is, of course, commensurate. In general the viands are provided by first-rate tradesmen, and the wines, supplied to the members at wholesale prices, are almost invariably unexceptionable. The reputation of the club, or rather, the character of the committee, on these momentous points is at stake; and seldom is either compromised. A cook, as already mentioned—usually some great foreign hero, widely known to fame—is ready to obey these behests, and give a brilliant realization to their commands, in so far as the former are concerned; while a butler—a far more modest individual, with whose name the world is seldom familiar—is employed partially to execute the latter, the duty being deemed far too important for delegation. Whenever a member has reason, or surmises he has reason to complain of either, he makes a solemn complaint in writing on the back of his bill, and it is duly laid before the committee at their first weekly meeting, who deliberate and decide on it with inflexible impartiality. A house-steward and kitchen-clerk superintend minor details. A still-room maid prepares the tea and coffee. A needle-woman is usually kept in most establishments for executing repairs, and a whole host of housemaids, doubtless presided over by a matron, are to be found on the premises. A bevy of female cooks, who obey the awful nod of the *chef*, are also to be found in the kitchen; but these, the main forces of the club, are usually most religiously kept from view, and maintained apart as rigidly as the most thorough woman-hater could desire.

Such is an outline of the modern club. It would be out of place here, and extend our article too long, to trace the influence of such institutions on society. They may have rendered it less domesticated, but they have also refined it; they may have ministered to *exclusivism*, yet they have also softened the asperities of *caste*. A less social taste may have been introduced, for the great majority of members of a club are generally strangers to each other; they have, however, put an end

to the coarse excesses which formerly resulted from undue conviviality. To be seen "reeling home from a club," is no longer an expression proverbially true; but, on the contrary, such scenes are as rare as they are justly deemed disgraceful.

Most of the London clubs, it may be added, distribute their broken viands to the poor of the respective parishes, and in this respect they perform a part which is meritorious. Admission to all of them is by ballot—one negative in ten usually excluding a candidate, while in others a single black-ball suffices. The price of admission varies from $40 to $160, and the annual subscription from $30 to $60. The principal clubs, now-a-days, naming them in the order of their establishment, are:

White's, Brookes's, Boodle's, The Union, Alfred, Arthur's, Senior United Service, Junior United Service, Oxford and Cambridge, Wyndham, Garrick, The Army and Navy, Travellers', Oriental, Carlton, Reform, Conservative, Athenæum, Senior University, Law, City, Whittington.

To Brookes's and White's we have already alluded; and a brief notice of the others may be interesting. Boodle's is a place of resort chiefly for country gentlemen, though even there, the venerable tights and top-boots can scarcely now be seen. The Union was once an exceedingly select place for city merchants, but it has long since become obscure and decayed. Alfred's was of a literary tendency; but it exists now almost solely in name. Arthur's is a place of similar description. But the Senior United Service is still in pristine vigor, and has given rise to two institutions of similar origin, The Senior United Service, and The Army and Navy, (familiarly termed "The Rag and Famish,") where Louis Napoleon, the present Emperor of France, was formerly accustomed to eat his eighteen-penny breakfast. The Travellers' for a long time was the most *recherché* of any club, no admission being obtained to it, unless the candidate had made the European tour, or travelled at least a thousand miles from home; though exception was made in favor of distinguished foreigners, especially the late astute diplomatist, Talleyrand, whose delight it was to indulge here in a game at whist. The Oriental is a place of resort exclusively for Eastern Indians, as its name may denote, and the yellow-jaundiced aspect of its members sufficiently proves. The Carlton is the oldest and most select of the political clubs, having been established chiefly for party purposes. The Reform is its great rival on the opposite side of politics, but it is far less *recherché* in its members. The Conservative is a sort of Junior Carlton, founded for reception of the sucking and less noticeable members of the Tory party;

and the Athenæum is devoted almost exclusively to men of science and literature, though a large number of no pretensions to either have lately found admission to its roll.

The Senior University, as it is called, to distinguish it from the Oxford and Cambridge or Junior University, consists chiefly of the higher dignitaries of the Church of England, and numbers some of the most experienced topers in the country among its members. The Oxford and Cambridge follows at a long distance behind, but still is imbued with the same lofty aspirations. The Wyndham, with a similar club named the Parthenon, devoted to the smaller fry of literature, is now almost defunct; but the Garrick still flourishes in the multitude of English translators or adapters of dramatic pieces from the French. The Law is a professional club, often enlivened by the eccentricities of Lord Brougham; and the City is solely frequented by city merchants.

ART. III.—1. *The Life and Posthumous Writings of William Cowper, Esq., with an Introductory Letter to the Right Honorable Earl Cowper.* By WILLIAM HAYLEY, Esq. 2 vols., 8vo. London. 1862.

2. *The Works of William Cowper, Esq., comprising his Poems, Correspondence and Translations. With a Life of the Author,* by the Editor, ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq., LL.D., Poet-Laureate, &c. 4 vols., 8vo. London.

3. *The Works of William Cowper, his Life and Letters, by William Hayley, Esq., now first completed by the introduction of Cowper's Private Correspondence.* Edited by the Rev. I. S. GRIMSHAWE, A.M., Rector of Burton, Northamptonshire, &c., &c. 8 vols., 8vo. London.

WE are likely to forget the poets of the last century, and not only lose our reverence for them, but fail in deriving from their writings and life the benefits they were designed to confer. Byron, Scott, Moore and Shelley have not as many readers now as they had twenty years since, and we predict a still greater falling off in the next double decade. These were but connecting links with Cowper and the elder children of song. They had not in them, to a very great extent, the material of poetry which, asbestos-like, defies the fires of taste and criticism. Their chief element was passion and sentiment, which in themselves are ephemeral; and especially so when they belong rather to the animal than to the spiritual. They are of

the earth—earthy. The poets of a generation or a particular age do not inherit the future. They fulfil their limited mission, and, like the Harbinger of the Messiah, decrease and sink into the greater light, and are lost. Much of their fame lies in the less pretentious poems they have written, and, like some leaf from the tree of Idgrasil, will be wafted to the ages yet to come. Poetry only lives as it seizes upon the universal truth, that neither age, nor change, nor time can affect, and which, like the soul, never grows old or decays. The transient day-dreams of the imagination please, but they do not live. The ephemeral and the transient send a gleam of sunshine across our pathway, and then disappear. The sensual and voluptuous die with the passions they invoke. They are parasitic and privitive, and either perish on what they feed, or kill what nourishes them. They belong not to that higher region of life which allies itself with immortality.

We have had quite a number of this fugacious class of poets, who have acquired fame, or rather notoriety, but they are rapidly becoming effete for want of that vitality which only belongs to the healthy and the vigorous. They are the "half-and-half," the mongrel and the hybrid, which yield no permanent issue. They have served some purpose, however, in giving evidence of the fact, that whatever is essentially base and vile, though covered with tinsel and arrayed in jewels, must be condemned. *Infamia notatus* is branded on all these children of the *pané*, and purity turns from them at a single glance. That some of these poets felt the kindling rays which wakened into life "the mighty orbs of song," none can deny. But the sun which calls into light and awakens the rapture of the skylark, drives into the shade the owl and the bat.

It is truly a pitiable sight, and not without its warning. The sunflower is a large and lubberly stalk; it awkwardly turns its head towards its master, but is too seedy and yellow to win our admiration. The daisy of Burns and the celandine of Wordsworth hold our senses in rapture, and waken thoughts "too deep for tears." But let the poets sing. The world is large and noisy, and, to tell the truth, dissonant; and many sounds reach us more inharmonious than any we have heard from even the least in the kingdom. Sing on—a cricket on the hearth is not unwelcome to us in our graver moods, and the chirp of a wren enters the ear to push out what is less welcome, in the multitudinous roar of the mad world. Many a maiden in the kitchen, many a boor in the field, many a mother in her log cabin, and suitor on the mart, and soldier in the camp, have wept and laughed and found new hopes in reading and remembering the simple ditties of the forgotten and un-

known. They serve some good purpose, we think, and the world would lose much if these inglorious writers were for ever mute.

We well remember a young man who was aspiring to be a preacher, but he sadly failed in all his attempts at sermonizing. Of course his efforts were all extemporaneous, though not unstudied. He could not hold his audience with his glittering eye, if, indeed, there was any fire in that organ. An honest friend advised him to give it up, and that God had never called him to preach the Gospel. His answer was, "There must of necessity be among the preachers one known as the least, and he would become a preacher if this even was to be his lot." He was ambitious and persevering, and won an enviable reputation. The courage and humility of the novitiate gave promise of his success. There must, then, of necessity, be some one of the poets who shall rank as the least; and this is better than to have no name among the elect interpreters of nature and of God. And as no one knows what is in him until he is tried, and as the cask is not conscious of the wine which it contains, to tap it is the only method of ascertaining its quality; and although the first draught may not be so pure, it may improve both with age and the very process of running it off into the cruise.

The father of William Cowper was John Cowper, Chaplain to King George the Second, and resided at his rectory of Great Birkhamstead, in Hertfordshire, England, the scene of the poet's infancy. His mother was Ann, daughter of Roger Donne, Esq., of Ludham Hall, in Norfolk. They had several children, but only left two sons. William, the subject of this notice, was born at Birkhamstead, on the 26th of November, 1731. His mother died at the early age of thirty-four, in 1737. Thus was he bereft in childhood of the care and tenderness of his mother, whose merits he has so feelingly commemorated in his *Task*. Her death was one of the causes of the gloom and sadness which threw a shadow over his life, and contributed, in the highest degree, to give a coloring to his mind which neither age nor circumstances could effectually remove. His infancy and childhood were marked with constitutional weakness and delicacy, almost feminine, which in after life was seen in the extreme diffidence which made his intercourse with others most painful, and rendered him entirely unfit to appear, in even the humblest office, before the public. In this may be traced the tendency to depression, which at times culminated into settled despair and insanity. The instrument was too finely strung and ethereal to bear the ordinary shocks of the rude world, and a passing breeze, unnoticed by coarser minds, sent

a wail of terror along its chords, which, if it did not break, unstrung them. A finer organism, perhaps, never was known. He was the sensitive plant which felt the most delicate touch, and shrunk back into itself as if by paralysis. His mind was the Æolian harp which responded to the first breath without, and rose with a tempest of unearthly music from every passing breeze.

In early life he was subject to inflammation of the eyes, and was put into the hands of an oculist, and from thence transferred to all the hardships and annoyances of a public school. His father did not seem to understand the nature and the wants of his son, and his mother's gentler hand was needed to soothe and care for the tender plant, now exposed to the dangers attendant upon that first step in life, which to all is most trying, but to a mind like William Cowper's almost insupportable.

> "Women know
> The way to rear up children; (to be just,)
> They know a simple, merry, tender knack
> Of trying baby sashes, fitting baby shoes,
> And stringing pretty words that make no sense,
> And kissing full sense into empty words."

Cowper through life lamented the persecution he endured at school, and the trials of his early education. His own account of the matter represents him at Westminster "as not daring to raise his eyes above the shoe-buckles of the elder boys." He never adverted to those days without the most painful feelings and a shudder at the recollection of his wretchedness. One of his poems is devoted to Education, in which he moralizes upon the evils attendant upon the exposure of youth to the unexpected trials and often ruinous effects which follow them in public schools.* Perhaps no where is this experienced to so great an extent as in the universities of England. The sys-

* It is well known that Cowper's peculiar disposition and temperament subjected him to numerous annoyances from his fellow-students. This will account for his hatred to public seminaries. "A public education," he says, "is often recommended as the most effectual remedy for that bashful and awkward restraint so epidemical among the youth of our country. But I verily believe, that instead of being a cure, it is often the cause of it. For seven or eight years of his life, the boy has hardly seen or conversed with a man or a woman, except the maids at his boarding-house. A gentleman or a lady are consequently such novelties to him, that he is perfectly at a loss to know what sort of behavior he should preserve before them. He plays with his buttons, or the strings of his hat, he blows his nose, and hangs down his head, is conscious of his own deficiency to a degree that makes him quite unhappy, and trembles lest any one should speak to him, because that would quite overwhelm him. Is not all this miserable shyness the effect of his education? To me it appears to be so. If he saw good company every day, he would never be terrified at the sight of it, and a room full of ladies and gentlemen would alarm no more than the chairs they sit on. Such is the effect of custom."

In his "Tirocenium, or Review of Schools," he evinces still more antipathy against public schools. Thus, according to him, they are the source of all vice and iniquity:

> "Would you your son should be a sot or dunce,
> Lascivious, headstrong, or all these at once;

tem of "fagging" was practised to an almost unlimited extent, in which boys were compelled to do menial service for those who occupied the higher classes in school. In this both the professors and the pupils engaged, and if it had stopped here it might have been supportable; but the utmost tyranny and abuse were practised upon all who would submit to it, or had no means of redress. Shelley refers to it in his dedication to Mary, in the "Revolt of Islam." "Refusing to fag, at Eton, he was treated with revolting cruelty by masters and boys. This roused, instead of taming, his spirit, and he rejected the duty of obedience when it was enforced by menaces and punishment." His resolute heroism, though trembling at every nerve, led him to encounter the most hateful oppressions which were practised in the school, and much of his after-life of morbid sensibility and sadness doubtless had its origin in Eton.

"Thoughts of great deeds were mine, dear friends, when first
The clouds which wrap this world from youth did pass.
I do remember well the hour which burst
My spirit's deeds; a fresh May-dawn it was
When I walked forth upon the glittering grass
And wept, I knew not why; *until there rose*
From the near school-room voices, that, alas!
Were but one echo from a world of woes—
The harsh and grating strife of tyrants and of foes."

It is evident that Cowper felt even more keenly than Shelley the depths of degradation and sorrow to which he was driven, as his mind was more sensibly alive, if possible, to the harsh gratings of the prison-schools into which he had entered. But he was studious, and, so far as we have learned, meek and submissive. He acquired the reputation of scholarship together with many who in after-life cherished his memory and distinguished themselves in public life.

At the age of eighteen, in 1749, he left Westminster to enter upon the study of the law; his friends having selected the life of an attorney for him—a life for which he had no taste, and no qualifications. For whatever intellect and talent he possessed, his delicate constitution and diffidence, his ethereal and refined spirit shrank back from the toil and drudgery, the conflicts and perplexities attendant upon a profession requiring the qualities of a soldier rather than a poet to achieve any honor or consideration in it.

He was fitted by nature and education for the refined society of the pure and the cultivated, and had no affinity, taste or dis-

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That in good time the stripling's finished taste
For loose expense, and fashionable waste,
Should prove your ruin and his own at last;
Train him in public with a mob of boys,
Childish in mischief only and in noise;
Else of a mannish growth, and five in ten
In infidelity and lewdness men."

position to mingle in the bustle and business of the great world around him. His very atmosphere was love. The gentler virtues he possessed to an extraordinary degree; and his love for nature was a passion which sought continually proper objects to revel in. The variety and depth of his sorrows are expressed in the following verses by him:

"See me—ere yet my destined course half done,
Cast forth a wanderer on a world unknown!
See me neglected on the world's rude coast,
Each dear companion of my voyage lost!
Nor ask why clouds of sorrow shade my brow,
And ready tears wait only leave to flow!
Why all that soothes a heart from anguish free,
All that delights the happy—palls with me!"

He settled himself in the Inner Temple after his term of service was completed with the solicitor, and remained there till the age of twenty-three. But his mind naturally turned to the paths of literature and poetry, rather than to the rough and thorny roads of jurisprudence. During this time he made himself familiar with the classics, and gave translations from Horace and others. He also cultivated the acquaintance of distinguished men known in the literary world—Colman, Thornton, Lloyd and others, whose lives and habits differed widely from his own, and who might have proved a serious injury to the fame and character of the illustrious bard. Happily, he escaped from their example and degradation.

His early poems show the bent of his mind. "The child," in him, "was father of the man." They all indicate a contemplative spirit, early impressed with a love of truth and of piety. His descriptive talent is seen in nearly all his earlier productions; and his talent for moralizing even on the simplest of subjects.

In his thirty-first year he was nominated to the offices of Reading Clerk and Clerk of the private committees of the House of Lords—a situation the more desirable, as such an establishment might enable him to marry early in life: a measure to which he was doubly disposed, both by judgment and inclination. But the peculiarities of his mind rendered him unable to support the ordinary duties of his new office; for the idea of reading in public proved a source of torture to his tender and apprehensive spirit. Resigning his situation as Reading Clerk, he was appointed Clerk of the Journals of the same House of Parliament. Of his occupation, in consequence of this new appointment, he speaks in the following letter:

TO LADY HERKETH.

THE TEMPLE, *August* 9, 1763.

MY DEAR COUSIN—Having promised to write to you, I make haste to be as good as my word. I have pleasure in writing to you at any

time, but especially at the present, when my days are spent in reading the Journals, and my nights in dreaming of them: an employment not very agreeable to a head that has long been habituated to the luxury of choosing its subject, and has been as little employed upon business as if it had grown upon the shoulders of a much wealthier gentleman. But the numscull pays for it now, and will not presently forget the discipline it has undergone lately. If I succeed in this doubtful piece of promotion, I shall have at least this satisfaction to reflect upon—that the volumes I write will be treasured up with the utmost care for ages, and will last as long as the English Constitution—a duration which ought to satisfy the vanity of any author who has a spark of love for his country. Oh, my good cousin! if I was to open my heart to you, I could show you strange sights; nothing, I flatter myself, that would shock you, but a great deal that would make you wonder. I am of a very singular temper, and very unlike all the men that I have ever conversed with. Certainly I am not an absolute fool; but I have more weaknesses than the greatest of all fools I can recollect at present. In short, if I was as fit for the next world as I am unfit for this, and God forbid I should speak it in vanity, I would not change conditions with any saint in Christendom.

My destination is settled at last, and I have obtained a furlough. Margate is the word; and what do you think will ensue, cousin? I know what you expect, but ever since I was born I have been good at disappointing the most natural expectations. Many years ago, cousin, there was a possibility that I might prove a very different thing from what I am at present. My character is now fixed, and riveted fast upon me, and, between friends, is not a very splendid one, or likely to be guilty of much fascination.

Adieu, my dear cousin! So much as I love you, I wonder how it has happened I was never in love with you. Thank Heaven that I never was, for at this time I have had a pleasure in writing to you, which in that case I should have forfeited. Let me hear from you, or I shall reap but half the reward that is due to my noble indifference.

Yours ever, and evermore, W. C.

This letter opens to the reader the inner life and struggles of William Cowper, and shows how harsh and dissonant the world and its employments grated upon his sensitive nature, and how utterly unfit he was for its business and pursuits; and yet there is nothing in it indicating a morbid state of mind. It was his normal condition, and no discipline could have modified or changed it. No one can tell what unutterable sorrow and grief—what repugnance he felt in attending upon the duties of an office, which a mind differently constituted would have met and discharged with the utmost ease and pleasure. The reading of "the Journals" was a constant trial, more painful and oppressive than that of a trial-sermon to the most diffident novice, or an address by a female before a large and promiscuous audience, whose voice sounded as an alarm-bell at the cry of fire. His "nights were spent in dreaming" of what he had read, and filled with apprehensions of the recurring duties day by day. He was a wonder to him-

self, and felt assured that no circumstances in life, no hopes of preferment, no solicitations of friends, would ever change the singular temper or disposition he possessed, or alter in any wise the idiosyncrasy of his mind. "Public exhibition" to him "was mortal poison," and filled him with "horror." Having prepared himself for the office by several months' constant labor, when the day arrived to enter upon its duties all confidence forsook him, and his friends acquiesced in the fact that he was utterly unable to discharge its duties. His health broke down under the distressing and mortifying conflict, and mental derangement followed. "From December, 1763, to the following July, the sensitive mind of Cowper appears to have labored under the severest suffering of morbid depression; but the medical skill of Dr. Cotton, and the cheerful, benignant manners of that accomplished physician, gradually succeeded, with the blessing of Heaven, in removing the indescribable load of religious despondency which had clouded the faculties of this interesting man. His ideas of religion were changed from the gloom of terror and despair to the brightness of inward joy and peace."

How much of this depression was due to the habitual sadness which had possessed his finely sensitive nature, owing to the incompatability existing between his wishes and his wants; his duty and his ability; the demands of labor and his abhorrence of it; the strength of his intellect and the weakness of his will, we cannot say; but we doubt not that his peculiar views of religion, tinctured as they were with Calvinism, had much to do in plunging him into that terrible vortex which came nigh ingulfing him for ever. On this subject we do not feel disposed to dwell; but we cannot think but what clearer and more scriptural views of the Christian system would have relieved him from the fatal darkness which for many months settled down upon him, and threatened the extinction of this mighty orb. Thank God he was relieved! and the world has been made wiser and better for it.

> "No wounds like those a wounded spirit feels;
> No cure for such, till God, who makes them, heals."
> "And thou, sad sufferer, under nameless ill,
> That yields not to the touch of human skill,
> Improve the kind occasion—understand
> A Father's frown, and kiss the chast'ning hand!"

In this way he improved the sad calamity with which he was visited; and the event left a deep and abiding impression upon him of his dependence upon God, and a cheerful acquiescence in his mysterious ways. With the relief to his burdened intellect came the peace of a soul reconciled to his government, and a sense of his acceptance and adoption. The darkness

which brooded over the great deep gave way under the fiat of Him who said, "Let there be light, and there was light."

It is said, though upon what authority we are unable to state, that during one of his paroxysms of insanity, either at the time to which we refer or subsequently, he requested a hackman to drive him out to London Bridge, with the secret purpose of casting himself down into the Thames, but that the driver at night became embarrassed and lost his way, and was not able to extricate himself from the intricate roads in which he entered, and finally he told the stranger that he could not find the place he was seeking, though he knew every inch of ground which led to it. Mr. Cowper asked him if he could find his way back. He said that he could, and soon returned him to his house. In the mean time his fit of depression left him, and he sat down and wrote that inimitable hymn which commences

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm."

The reader will please read it, and see how admirably it illustrates the strange providence which gave him relief and safety under the dark cloud which was lowering over his head —so "big with mercy."

His introduction into the family of the Unwins was the most remarkable incident of his life, and the intimate friendship which matured and increased through life between him and them is one of the most affecting in all the history of human attachments. No one ever found a dearer friend than Mrs. Unwin, and no one was ever more grateful for one than William Cowper.* If the world had been searched, a more suitable home could not have been found than he had in her family. Here every wish was anticipated, every desire gratified, that a pure and loving heart could entertain; and in the quiet retirement of his little cottage, he spent his time as peace-

* This gratitude he has given most eloquent expression to on various occasions. In the whole range of his poetry there is scarcely a more beautiful effusion than the following sonnet

"To Mrs. Unwin:

"Mary! I want a lyre with other strings,
Such aid from heav'n as some have feign'd they drew,
An eloquence scarce given to mortals, new
And undebas'd by praise of meaner things,
That ere through age or woe I shed my wings,
I may record thy worth with honor due,
In verse as musical as thou art true,
And that immortalizes whom it sings.
But thou hast little need. There is a book
By seraphs writ with beams of heavenly light,
On which the eyes of God not rarely look,
A chronicle of actions just and bright:
There all thy deeds, my faithful Mary, shine,
And, since thou own'st that praise, I spare thee mine."

fully and pleasantly as it was possible for him, whilst a tenant on earth.

In his letter to Joseph Hill, Esq., of June 24, 1765, he says, writing from Huntingdon: "I am restored to perfect health, both of mind and body." "I have a lodging that puts me continually in mind of our summer excursions; we have had many worse, and except the size of it, (which, however, is sufficient for a single man,) but few better. I am not quite alone, having brought a servant with me from St. Albans, who is the very mirror of fidelity and affection for his master."

His numerous letters to his friends and relations abound with expressions of gratitude for the happy circumstances which surround him in the family of the Unwins, and the society he found in Huntingdon. "As to my own personal condition, I am much happier than the day is long, and sunshine and candle-light alike see me perfectly contented. I get books in abundance, as much company as I choose, a deal of comfortable leisure, and enjoy better health, I think, than for many years past. What is there wanting to make me happy?"

The death of Mr. Unwin occasioned a change in their residence—the widow and family now removed to Olney, in Buckinghamshire, the abode of Rev. John Newton, then curate of Olney. Mr. Newton favored the change, and was happy in having Mrs. Unwin and family, with Cowper, under his care. They were equally pleased with being under the pious and devoted pastor of Olney; and no circumstance in the life of Cowper, in addition to the family of Mrs. Unwin, contributed so much to his happiness, and rendered his life one of so much peace and contentment.

In Mr. Newton there were united all the qualities which make companionship agreeable and profitable. He was a man of strong and robust intellect, of solid judgment and refined taste; with wonderful powers of conversation—to please, to edify, and to instruct; a man of warm affections, deep sympathy, and of abiding friendship; his piety fervent, solid, and rational. In all respects, just the man to be the daily companion and bosom friend of Cowper; and how that friendship continued through life and ripened, is a beautiful episode in the history of these two remarkable men. Newton's letters, next to Cowper's, are among the most beautiful in our language. They give to the reader the inner life of the writer, and are far from that stiffness and formality which always are seen in correspondence, having an eye to the "great public." They were written in all the privacy of personal friendship, and are filled with the outgushing streams of a heart alive to all that renders life desirable, or its relations and duties pleasant and profitable.

For ease and elegance, for wit and humor, for tenderness and affection, for delicacy and refinement; for all that we could wish in a correspondent, Cowper excelled; and his friend Newton was his counterpart in all these, wanting, however, that "gift and faculty divine," which Cowper so eminently possessed. Whoever would wish to study the life of these ulterior men, should read their letters. Their simplicity, beauty, and Saxon-strength, have awakened the admiration of the finest minds in the English world. Neither Walpole nor Gray can compare with them in these respects. We are glad that they used their pens so freely, and have left the impress, not of their minds only, but of their hearts, in the friendly missives which they so frequently sent to those whom they loved. These letters of Cowper never were intended by him for the public eye. He wrote them to his friends, and with no ulterior object. Shy and diffident, he never forced his correspondence upon strangers or chance acquaintances, but always waited for some opening in providence, before he sat down to pen them. Far removed from the circle of his early friends and near relations, he was glad of an opportunity of conversing with them in this way, and felt that he could more freely open his mind to them on paper than by oral communications. He was eminently social in his disposition, but serious impediments, such as we have referred to, prevented him from that full enjoyment which his nature craved; but with his pen he could talk with the utmost freedom—and how well—these inimitable letters fully show. Robert Hall was eloquent in their praise, and declared that they contained more beauty and finish than any letters in our language. Not one word or sentence needed any correction or change. His whole life is laid open to the reader in them, and it would be easy to give a faithful portraiture and detail of his character, pursuits, tastes, and employments, from their contents. Whatever interested him, he freely communicated to his friends, from "his three tame hares" to his translation of Homer; his glazing the kitchen windows, to his *Task;* from his learning to ride on horseback, to his more certain seat in the chariot of inspiration; from his epitaphs for the old sexton, to his translations from the Greek of Julianus.

Mary died before Cowper. Her death was calm and tranquil. Cowper saw her about half an hour before she departed. He was then very weak and much depressed, and on the morning of that day he said to the servant, who opened the window of his chamber, "Sally, is there life above stairs?" Absorbed as he was with his own increasing maladies, he did not forget the meek sufferer, now released from her prison-house of clay.

"And should my future lot be cast
With much resemblance of the past,
Thy worn-out heart will break at last,
My Mary!"

That heart at last was broken, and Cowper's end was nigh. He survived her, however, some four years, amidst great alternations of hope and fear, of joy and sorrow, of light and darkness. His last original poem was "The Castaway," in which his lyre, with unwonted pathos and sublimity, poured forth its notes of sadness, in which, we cannot but think, he felt that there was much resemblance between the struggling sailor in "Anson's Voyage" and himself, soon to plunge in that deeper ocean lying at his feet. His life-boat was at hand. A friendly voice heard *his* "shout." He was not "deserted" in that death-struggle. A "voice divine" allayed the storm. And that which to him seemed to be a "rougher sea," opened out to his enraptured vision the settled calm of an eternal rest. He died April 25th, 1800, and was born in 1731. He was buried in St. Edmund's Chapel, in the Church of East Dereham.

Lady Herketh, his cousin, raised a marble tablet to his memory, with the following inscription from the pen of Hayley:

In Memory of
WILLIAM COWPER, ESQ.,
Born in Hertfordshire, 1731,
Buried in this Church.

Ye, who with warmth the public triumph feel,
Of talents dignified by sacred zeal,
Here, to devotion's bard devoutly just,
Pay your fond tribute due to Cowper's dust!
England, exulting in his spotless fame,
Ranks with her dearest sons his favorite name.
Sense, fancy, wit, suffice not all to raise
So clear a title to affection's praise:
His highest honors to the heart belong;
His virtues form'd the magic of his song.

A memoir of the early life of Cowper, written by himself, was found after his death. It was written chiefly for the perusal of Mrs. Unwin; copies of it were presented to Mr. Newton, and ultimately to Dr. Johnson. It is an affecting narrative of his mental sufferings and of his happy relief. No one can read it without being assured that his constitutional temperament laid the foundation of his insanity; and his gloomy views of himself as a sinner, and imperfect conceptions of the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, brought on the terrible crisis. Through life he was subject to exacerbations of mind, which brought him to the very verge of despair. And it is wonderful to see what an amount of healthful labor he performed with his mind and pen, during his long and painful life and history. At the close of his sketch of his early life he says: "I took possession of my new abode (with the Un-

wins) November 11, 1765. I have found it a place of rest, prepared for me by God's own hand, where He has blessed me with a thousand mercies and instances of His fatherly protection; and where He has given me abundant means of furtherance in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus, both by the study of His own word and communion with His dear disciples. May nothing but death interrupt our union! Peace be with the reader, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen."

His wish was gratified—nothing but death parted him from his second mother, Mary Unwin. The beautiful and affecting lines on his mother's picture will be remembered by the reader:

> "My mother! when I learn'd that thou wast dead,
> Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed?
> Hover'd thy spirit o'er thy sorrowing son,
> *Wretch even then, life's journey just begun?*"

Not only then, but in after-life, her "spirit hover'd o'er her son," and a portion of that rested upon "Mary" for his good! They have met in that better land, where all the pure in heart are going, and the reunion there will never be interrupted by the vicissitudes of this!

His admirable letters to Mrs. Cowper, found in the early pages of his correspondence, give his views at large on the subject of personal recognition in the world beyond, and doubtless he has realized its truth in the fullest sense. *That* mother and *that* Mary, Cowper still sees, and will for ever know! Happy release, oh child of suffering and sorrow, from a world so little fitted for so pure a spirit! Thy "Task" is done, but thy works shall follow thee! Glorious is the thought of meeting with the elder bards, and attuning the lyre to loftier songs of Creation, of Providence, and Redemption! We envy not the man who does not feel the inspiration of such lofty hopes and wishes for their enjoyment.

We do not deem it necessary to enter upon the practical life and labors of Cowper to any extent. His works are before the public, and accessible to all. His name is familiar wherever the English language is spoken, and quotations from his poems are heard in the pulpit, at the bar and the forum, and enrich our literature. We prefer to call attention to them as a whole, and with new fervor invoke the reading public to renew an acquaintance with them.

His love of nature and of his kind; his sympathy with the poor and the oppressed; his ardent attachment to home and country; his love of freedom; his piety and benevolence; his personal friendship and undying attachment; his taste for all that is beautiful and good; his wit and humor; his singular turn for the ridiculous; his profound learning; his admiration

for the Greek and Latin classics; his reverence for the Scriptures and all good men; his love for the Saviour and his consecration to His cause—these all appear in his poetical writings. We know of but one who has excelled him, and that is the author of "Paradise Lost." He has never reached the heights of sublimity of the mighty bard—the sightless—Samson Agonistes of song, but in the variety of his themes, the sweetness of his harmonies, the tenderness and delicacy of his thought, the ease and elegance of his versification, his humor and pleasantry, and the depth of his poetry, Cowper stands unrivalled. Who would ever have thought that the author of sixty hymns, in the Olney Collection, and of the "Castaway," could have written John Gilpin—the first poem that brought the bard of Olney into notice?

It is worthy of remark that Dr. Franklin was among the first to give an appreciative notice of the productions of Cowper—after the "Analytical Review" had severely criticised his published poems. The world might never have possessed "The Task" had it not been for the just praise and commendation of the illustrious philosopher.

The preface to his poems originally was written by John Newton, his warm and attached friend, and for many years his daily companion. Numerous reviews have been written upon his works, and several sketches of his life and more elaborate memoirs have been given of him to the public. To these we refer the reader; not, however, without making some observations of our own. But before doing so, it seems necessary to allude to his insanity, if only to ask, in passing, what was the cause of it. Different causes are assigned by different writers. But only two are worth notice—one is disappointed love; the other religious fanaticism. There is no doubt that he was devotedly attached to his first cousin, Theodora Jane, daughter of Ashley Cooper; and it seems equally certain that his passion was fully reciprocated. His timidity was such, that he could not command sufficient courage to make known his feelings and wishes to the lady's father. In time a friend did so, however; but the father objected, partly, he said, because the relationship between the young lovers was too close, and partly because young Cowper's income was scarcely sufficient to support himself. Those who deny that this refusal was the cause of his insanity, urge that it was precisely because the young poet was known to have a predisposition to mental disturbance, that his uncle would not hear of such a match. In order, it is said, that the young lady might be out of danger, she was immediately made an inmate of the family of a distant relative. The separation is referred to by Southey, as follows: "From that

time Cowper and the cousin he had loved so dearly never met again. Many years afterwards, when his intimacy with Lady Hesketh was renewed, he said to her, 'I still look back to the memory of your sister, and regret her; but how strange it is, if we were to meet now, we should not know each other!' The effect on Theodora was more durable. Neither time nor absence diminished her attachment to the object of her first and only love. The poems which, while their intercourse continued, he had transcribed for her as they were composed, she carefully preserved during many years, and then, for reasons known only to herself, sent them in a sealed packet to a lady, her particular friend, with directions not to be opened till after her decease. His death, perhaps, or the hopeless state into which he had sunk, rendered the sight of these relics too painful; and hoping that they might one day be incorporated (as they now are) with those works which will perpetuate her beloved cousin's name, she put it out of her own power to burn them in any darker mood of mind."

Many of his letters to Lady Hesketh are adduced as evidence that the poet's feeling for her, too, was much warmer than that of mere friendship. Whether such was really the fact or not, certain it is, that that generous and amiable lady was always his best friend. No doubt is any longer entertained that it was she who used to write him so many encouraging letters, bestowing judicious praise on his writings, advising him to persevere, and frequently enclosing him bank checks, when they were most needed. In commenting on these substantial tokens of good-will, Southey remarks:

"I have no means of ascertaining who this benefactor was; *though, undoubtedly, Lady Hesketh was*, as Cowper supposed, *in the secret*. It was not Lady Hesketh herself, because, after her offer of assistance had been made and had been accepted, she would not have affected any mystery in bestowing it. Nor is it likely to have been her father. Handwritings may, like faces, be distinctly remembered for twenty years, but in the course of twenty years both undergo a great, though gradual, change; and it is more probable that Cowper should be mistaken, when he thought he had detected his uncle's hand, than that the latter, choosing to remain unknown, should have given so direct a clue to the discovery. Could it be his daughter Theodora? Were it not that the comparison which the letter-writer drew between Cowper and himself seems to be one which would have occurred only to a man, I should have no doubt that Theodora was the person; and, notwithstanding that obvious objection, am *still inclined to think so;* for the presents are what a woman would have chosen, and it is certain *that her love was as constant as it was hopeless*. Hers was a melancholy lot; but she had the consolation of knowing now wherefore, and how wisely, her father had acted in forbidding a marriage which must have made her miserable indeed."

But we have stronger evidence than the opinion of any of his biographers, that whoever his anonymous correspondent and benefactor was, his regard for Lady Hesketh had more tenderness in it than the most Platonic could claim for pure friendship. One example will suffice here. Thus, the poet implores her to visit him at Olney; she, affectionate and kind as she always was, could not refuse. He writes back in a transport of joy, as follows:

"I shall see you again—I shall hear your voice, we shall take walks together; I will show you my prospects—the hoval, the alcove, the Ouse, and its banks—everything that I have described. I anticipate the pleasure of those days not very far distant, and feel a part of it at this moment. Talk not of an inn: mention it not, for your life. We have never had so many visitors, but we could easily accommodate them all, though we have received Unwin, and his wife and his sister, and his son, all at once. My dear, I will not let you come till the end of May, or beginning of June, because before that time my greenhouse will not be ready to receive us, and it is the only pleasant room belonging to us. When the plants go out, we go in. I line it with mats, and spread the floor with mats, and there you shall sit with a bed of mignonnette at your side, and a hedge of honeysuckles, roses, and jasmine; and I will make you a bouquet of myrtle every day. Sooner than the time I mention, the country will not be in complete beauty."

To this letter nothing need be added to prove that the poet was warmly attached to Lady Hesketh; but far be it from us to allege that any impropriety resulted from that attachment. We do not believe there did. The character of Lady Hesketh was above reproach. The probability is that she knew her cousin loved her; but that she regarded him as a wayward child, who must be humored as much as possible consistenly with propriety and decorum. But whether Cowper was in love with one or both of his cousins, there seems no good reason to believe that his failure to get married to either had much, if anything, to do with his insanity. All witnesses concur in the statement that not only the two sisters, but also their father, were friendly to him to the last; and in circumstances of this kind, there is no instance on record of insanity resulting to the lover. The case of Tasso is entirely different; for although the Princess Leonora seemed to retain her friendship for the author of the *Jerusalemme Liberata* to the last, he was persecuted in every conceivable manner by the duke, her father. But far from persecuting Cowper, the father of Theodora and Lady Hesketh always treated him with the greatest kindness.

It is an unpleasant conclusion to come to, that in certain constitutions a religious turn of mind has a tendency to produce insanity; and yet such is the inference the case of Cowper

irresistibly leads to. But few in an age are like him. His faith in predestination was as gloomy and revolting as it was implicit and unalterable. It was his misfortune to believe that while all other souls were redeemed by the blood of Christ, in a certain sense, his alone was doomed to eternal misery. Not that he was entirely indulgent in his judgment of the faults of others; for with him almost all kinds of amusements were deadly sins. Thus, for example, Brighthelmstone was a great place for dancing in his time, and it was his deliberate opinion, often expressed, that a large proportion, if not the whole, of the ladies and gentlemen who took part in that amusement must necessarily be damned to all eternity; and while disposing thus summarily of hundreds of men and women whose reputation was without stain, he regards his friend the Rev. Mr. Newton as a true prophet, whose predictions might save all who had grace enough to put faith in them. Foppery and affectation he has attacked in all forms, in poetry and prose, as productive of some of the most gigantic evils that humanity is heir to in its degenerate state. Still he was not sure that either was so soul-destroying as Sunday music and other sinful things which the profane dignified with the name of amusements. In a similar manner he attributed every important occurrence to a special interposition of Providence. One illustrative instance will suffice in these hurried remarks—that in which he supposed that the death of the celebrated Captain Cook was a judgment on him for having allowed himself to be worshipped by the savages at Owhyee. Speaking of the travels of Cook, Cowper remarks, in one of his letters to Mr. Hayley:

"The reading of those volumes afforded me much amusement, and, I hope, some instruction. No observation, however, forced itself upon me with more violence than one that I could not help making on the death of Captain Cook. God is a jealous God, and at Owhyee the poor man was content to be worshipped. From that moment the remarkable interposition of Providence in his favor was converted into an opposition that thwarted all his purposes. He left the scene of his deification, but was driven back to it by a most violent storm, in which he suffered more than in any that had preceded it. When he departed he left his worshippers still infatuated with an idea of his godship, consequently well disposed to serve him. At his return he found them sullen, distrustful, and mysterious. A trifling theft was committed, which, by a blunder of his own, in pursuing the thief after the property had been restored, was magnified to an affair of the last importance. One of their favorite chiefs was killed, too, by a blunder. Nothing, in short, but blunder and mistake attended him, till he fell breathless into the water, and then all was smooth again. The world, indeed, will not take notice or see that the dispensation bore evident marks of divine displeasure; but a mind, I think, in any degree spiritual cannot overlook them."

As to Cowper's works, none appreciate them more highly

than we do. We hold them to rank among the noblest productions of their time. There are passages in his poems which have not been surpassed by any other modern poet. *The Task*, justly regarded as his *chef d'œuvre*, is undoubtedly a great poem; or rather, a series of poems put together without much order, but abounding in graphic sketches of nature, charming portraitures of domestic life, and striking and excellent suggestions on the rights and duties of man. But it must be admitted that the same poem is disfigured with many faults. In no other similar production in the English language are there so many tedious and dreary passages. Nay, they are often worse than this—they are sometimes mean and vulgar. This is true, for example, of the mock-heroic passages called the *Sofa* and the *Monitor*, the former a very inferior imitation of the *Splendid Shilling*, and the latter a still more unworthy copy. Not unfrequently does the reader meet with an expression that is so low and coarse as to be absolutely disgusting; and nowhere is this more likely to happen than in the middle of a beautiful description of nature or domestic life. But the disgust is soon forgotten. We have hardly time to find fault before we are again astonished and charmed by the wonderful variety, vigor, freshness, and originality, which, in our opinion, form the secret of Cowper's popularity, and which will always secure him a high rank among the great minstrels of his country.

The same versatility characterizes the lighter pieces of Cowper. What most surprises the reader, aware of his morbid sensibility, is the playfulness and genuine humor that pervade most of them, and which, in the absence of other evidence, would seem to show that he was the happiest and most contented of mortals. What other inference, for example, could be drawn from his *John Gilpin*, which undoubtedly is one of the most humorous poems in our language? Indeed all his tales are excellent. Had he written nothing else, his Bills of Mortality, Lines on his Mother's Picture, and Sonnet on Mrs. Unwin, (already referred to,) would have proved him a powerful master of the passions. Perhaps no other poet of modern times has lamented his beloved mother in a strain which combines so much manly sorrow with so many tender reminiscences of childhood. And yet, in our estimation, Cowper is never so truly poetical as when discussing philosophic subjects. This seems inconsistent with the disturbed state of his mind; but it can be easily proved. With this view we have marked several passages, but must, however, confine ourselves to one. We select an extract from a fragment which Mr. Hayley was fortunate enough to discover by accident among some loose

papers found in the poet's study after his death. It is a philosophical address of somewhat less than two hundred lines to an old decayed oak in the vicinity of Weston. We choose this, however, not because it is the best specimen we could give—for, although certainly very good, it is nothing of the kind—we make choice of it because it gives a truer idea of the excellencies and defects of the author than any other piece of equal length in all his writings:

"Thou wast a bauble once; a cup and ball,
Which babes might play with; and the thievish jay
Seeking her food, with ease might have purloin'd
The auburn nut that held thee, swallowing down
Thy yet close-folded latitude of boughs,
And all thy embryo vastness, at a gulp.
But faith thy growth decreed: autumnal rains,
Beneath thy parent-tree, mellow'd the soil,
Design'd thy cradle, and a skipping deer,
With pointed hoof dibbling the glebe, prepar'd
The soft receptacle, in which secure
Thy rudiments should sleep the winter through."
"Time made thee what thou wast—king of the woods,
And time hath made thee what thou art—a cave
For owls to roost in! Once thy spreading boughs
O'erhung the champaign, and the numerous flock
That graz'd it stood beneath that ample cope
Uncrowded, yet safe-sheltered from the storm.
No flock frequents thee now; thou hast outliv'd
Thy popularity, and art become
(Unless verse rescue thee a while) a thing
Forgotten, as the foliage of thy youth!"

Of Cowper's translation of Homer little need be said at the present day. It is certainly a more literal rendering than that of Pope; and yet it hardly does so much justice to the original as the latter's. This may seem contradictory; but it is not the less true. The language as well as the ideas of a translation should resemble the original. The language of Cowper does not resemble that of Homer; but is as unlike it as possible. In this respect his version of the Iliad has the same faults which we have alluded to in glancing at his *Task* —that is, the language is often so low and grovelling when it is required to be not only dignified but sublime, that his version of some of the finest passages in Homer degenerates into coarse parody. It is certainly with no disposition to find fault that we make this remark; we yield to none of our readers in our admiration of the author of the *Task;* but who that has any acquaintance with the sublimity and grandeur of the original, can say that justice is done to Homer when the godlike Achilles is made to complain that he is treated "like a *fellow* of no worth?" There is no such vulgar expression in the original; and the same remark will apply with equal force to such expressions as Nestor undertakes "to intreat Achilles *to a calm*," Agamemnon calls Achilles "this wrangler here," &c.

We might easily multiply instances of this kind; but they would only show that, although Cowper's version of Homer is a great work—one that would have secured him a prominent niche in the temple of fame had he produced nothing else—his part of it is vastly inferior to his original works. Had we no other translation of Homer but Cowper's, then indeed the latter would be invaluable; but as it is, the *Task*, with all its faults, is worth, not to mention the *Table Talk*, *Progress of Error*, &c., a dozen such translations.

ART. IV.—1. *Pinkerton's Dissertations on the Origin of the Gothic Nations.* 8vo. London.

2. *Capitularia Regum Francorum.* Paris.

3. *Hallam's View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages.* 3 vols. London.

4. *Brussii Principia Juris Feudalis.* Edinburgh.

5. *Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England.* London.

6. *Caspari Bitschii Commentarius in Consuetudines Feudorum.* Paris.

FEUDALISM is usually considered to date from the days of Charlemagne; but it had then really attained maturity, and, under one modification or another, is doubtless coeval with the earliest stages of human society. So soon as men became gregarious, or collected themselves into groups for the purposes of association or protection, the timid naturally yielded to the ascendency of the bold; and the boldest of their number, on being elected chief, as naturally endeavored to enlist the services of an intrepid race of followers in his behalf, either by making them concessions of territory, or by acquiescence in their seizure of it. Hence in the very earliest era of human institutions we find some traces of feudalism. In the East, where civilization dawned at a much earlier period than in the West, we find mention made of it at a period so remote as almost to appear fabulous. Long prior to the Macedonian conquest, Hindostan was divided into a number of kingdoms, and each of these in turn consisted of smaller principalities, whose power and resources gradually diminished, until, from the position of lords or chieftainships, they descended by degrees to that of centurions, village-heads, and the humblest vassals or tillers of the soil. Military service was the tenure by which

they all held their lands;* and the system at this period had evidently been in force for ages. In those mysterious documents, the Institutes of Menu, of which a compilation was made by Kullucca so early as 880 years before Christ, we find a record of it as characteristic of the followers of Brahma;† and, passing to the West, we have evidence of its existence at a period almost equally early. From the glowing and ever-glorious pages of Homer we learn that institutions resembling those of feudalism existed amongst the Grecian leaders who conducted the Trojan war; Achilles, the greatest of their number, deserting his leader, Agamemnon, in an outburst of passion or caprice, with quite as much alacrity as was ever displayed by a discontented baron on withdrawing his forces from the camp of his sovereign in the Middle Ages. The distant era at which this memorable struggle took place may afford us some indication how early was the origin of the institution; it having been thus recorded by the greatest Pagan writer of antiquity at least nine centuries before the nativity of Christ.

Passing thence to the era whence modern annals date, we can have little doubt of its existence in the reign of Augustus Cæsar, who conferred lands upon his followers on condition that the eldest son rendered military service on attaining the age of fifteen. Amongst the Germans it was also prevalent, as we learn from the concise and generally accurate pages of Tacitus. Macierouski informs us that it existed amongst the ancient inhabitants of Tuscany; and Major Denham, one of the most enterprising of modern travellers, states that he found traces of it in the interior of Africa.

Under Charlemagne, however, it first attained to maturity, and subsequent to him it was in all its vigor. Introduced, as De Moulin supposes, by the Franks into Gaul, it doubtless was in force during the rugged and obscure ages which preceded his accession; and he evidently was the first who reduced its rude and disorderly elements to shape, or brought them under subjection to his iron will. It was naturally the next state of society after the primitive monarchical; men, especially those of the lower order, naturally assembling and ranging themselves under the protection of some powerful chief, in proportion as society advanced. Protection for the progress of civilization and the arts of peace was thus obtained; and gradually freedom, if not refinement, was extended, when they fortified themselves in towns and cities. The chief's castle rose in their midst, and as, agreeably to Roman law, the descent of

* Tod's *Annals of Rajas, Than*, quoted in Gleig's *India*, i., 18, 19. London, 1830. See also Pinkerton's Dissertations, &c., p. 139, *et seq.*

† Ibid., p. 14.

lands was limited exclusively to males,* his power soon became hereditary. If the city rapidly extended, the inhabitants gradually escaped from his control; but if, as was generally the case, the increase of the hamlet was slow and progressive, his power proportionately advanced, and he retained the inmates under subjection. Military service was the main, if not only, source of honor and emolument, and they remained faithful and subservient because they could enjoy none except what they derived from him.

Thus emanating from confusion and from barbarism, feudalism gradually imparted to mankind an aspect of refinement and civilization; rescuing them from the dark and savage state into which they had been plunged by the inroads of the Huns, the Goths, the Franks, the Lombards, and other barbarians who overthrew the colossal structure of the Roman Empire. Before Charlemagne it consequently attained its first stage; under him it grew to maturity and vigor; and when the power of his controlling hand was no longer present to guide and restrain it, gradually but rapidly in the reign of his feeble successors it acquired its full strength, overthrew the weak barriers of their power, until it attained its zenith; exhausted itself by excesses still more than by age; was crushed in France, first by the bold policy of Louis the Eleventh; afterwards entirely eradicated under the despotic egotism of Louis the Fourteenth; had previously been extinguished throughout Germany by the progress of the Reformation; was cast out of Spain and the rest of Europe by the raillery of Cervantes; and finds at the present day only a lingering shelter amongst the aristocracy of England, who now retain, chiefly by the influence of wealth and habit, that ascendency which their forefathers originally acquired by rapine, havoc, devastation, and other excesses of the sword.

But it becomes necessary to consider the progress of feudalism more minutely. Sir Thomas Craig, a writer who has devoted considerable attention to the subject, divides this into four stages: The first two comprising the periods we have mentioned; the third, dating from the death of Charlemagne till the year 1024, when, by an extension of the Salic law, fiefs became hereditary in the instance of males; and the last, from the period until that when, by the general condemnation of mankind, the institution finally terminated.

In the course of this existence it naturally had many redoubted defenders, and aroused the enmity of not less numerous uncompromising adversaries. Conspicuous amongst the

* Blackstone, book iv., c. 33.

former was William of Normandy, who mainly, by means of feudalism, was enabled to achieve the conquest of England. By lavish promises of lands, he first enlisted the services of adventurers from all quarters of Europe, and by the fulfilment of these promises he mainly accomplished his relentless triumph over the unhappy Saxons. He accordingly, so far as he could, perpetuated its influence, and the band of marauders who followed him being solely indebted to it for the acquisition of their estates, were so zealous in its preservation, that it retains its place amongst their descendants till this day. In all other parts of the European world it excited uncompromising enemies. Rodolph, of Hapsburg, opposed it with all the foresight of his character and the astuteness of his race. The leading nobles of his empire looked with wonder, not unmixed with contempt, on the attention he bestowed on hucksters and burgesses; little surmising that he was thus fostering a commercial spirit which would ultimately prove fatal to their power. Untaught by their example and their fate, the French nobles equally contemned and execrated Louis the Eleventh, for what they deemed his low and depraved nature, in associating with his citizens and peddlers, and only awoke to a sense of their danger when these despised classes of the community arose to the condition of aspiring adventurers and merchants, who eventually overturned their ascendency. From the church alone it received a support more dangerous than any species of opposition. Rome had the merit of systematically opposing this institution from first to last. The proud baron, sitting in his castle, paid but little heed to the humble priest. He looked upon him as an implement useless in war, and was disposed to prefer the rude jests of his buffoon in moments of wassail or of peace. The interest of the higher clergy was still more involved in arraying itself against the inroads of these feudal chiefs. The bishop's palace, the abbey, and the monastery consequently made common cause against them, inasmuch as they were often subject to their plunder, and still more frequently became obnoxious by affording a shelter to their foes. Motives of policy or considerations of safety might constrain them occasionally to temporize; but throughout the whole of its career the church and its followers might be considered as the secret and sworn foes of this order.

The institution, too, carried within its bosom the elements of self-dissolution. It was founded on principles intolerable to the independence, and utterly inconsistent with the welfare, of man. Emanating from tyranny, it extended and aggravated the system from which it sprang. The haughty baron acknowledged the supremacy of his sovereign only in war, and

disdained to follow him in aught save acts of despotism in peace. He submitted to the humiliation or necessity of swearing fealty to him on accession, but at all subsequent periods he claimed to be on terms of equality, or his peer. He assumed all the rights of sovereignty; he coined money; he waged war on his own account; he claimed exemption from all tributes save feudal aids; he equally demanded entire freedom from legislative control on the part of his superior, and the unquestioned as well as exclusive right of judicature in his own domains. The vassals under him were thus reduced to a condition of bondage. While claiming independence, he tolerated none, but reduced all within his sphere to his unbending will. The condition of his vassals was that of serfs. He suffered no question of his authority, and often claimed privileges of the most repulsive order. His vassals' lands, their chattels, even their wives and daughters on their wedding-night, were considered as at his disposal. A more intolerable system of tyranny, in fact, was never devised, and it ended by raising mankind against it in one universal shout.

Yet good, too, resulted from the otherwise obnoxious institution. The freedmen, or those who had obtained their liberty, generally by purchase, from their lords, nurtured a spirit of independence; and the freemen, or those who were born free, and in a still less degree subject to his control, yet farther asserted the native dignity of man. The former were a numerous race, and almost invariably remained attached to the soil where they had their birth. They usually cultivated a portion of it for their landlord's benefit, receiving the product of the remaining portion of it as their pay. Their condition was not that of entire independence, and in many respects was unenviable, but they exhibited in their humble sphere numerous striking instances of fidelity and attachment. They enjoyed the protection of their chieftain in peace; they followed his standard in war; and, as in the example of the yeomen of England, constituted one of the boldest and hardiest races of men whom the world ever saw.

The freemen were of a more roving order. They were usually either the younger sons of chieftains, or their descendants, and rarely born on the estate. For the most part they sought military service and adventures in a quarter different from that where they first drew breath, and mingled with the feudal barons more on a footing of equality than dependence. Attached to no special lord, they often transferred their services or allegiance from one baron to another, and were frequently not exempt from the imputation of a mercenary tint. They were usually the inferior companions of the chieftains they

served, occupying a mediate position between his peers and his ordinary freedmen. They attended him in his wars and participated in his revelry. They were familiar with the hunting-song and the wassail-bowl, and often, in the rare cases when they escaped being cleft on the head, became in their age a sort of boon-companion, councillor, or chamberlain in the castle, employed as a seneschal in superintending the household, or as a judge in settling disputes among the inferior tenantry. In many respects, the character of these men was lawless and objectionable; but, especially as the Free Lances of Germany, they fostered and extended a thirst for liberty and a spirit of independence. At a later period, many of them became ennobled in turn, and received high offices in the empire and the various countries of Europe as the reward of their bravery or their acuteness. In the Crusades they were especially distinguished, and in opposing the Mussulman advance to the West, performed feats of arms of which Europe still rings with the renown.

Hence out of this system of freedmen, or yeomanry, and freemen, or an inferior order of knighthood, there gradually arose a spirit of freedom and independence. Feudalism thus was its own bane and antidote. Originally devised by sovereigns and their immediate creatures or followers for keeping mankind in subjection, it eventually nurtured a spirit which prompted these courtiers or barons first to beard their sovereign, and in the end aroused that general resistance to tyranny which ultimately gave freedom to man. In proportion as the system extended, it became more intolerable. When numberless despots oppressed a country, instead of one, the people, who formed the great bulk of the population, at last arose against them; and in such countries as France and England, monarchs of the astute and artful character of Louis the Eleventh and Henry the Seventh established their authority on a basis almost wholly despotic by craftily combining with their subjects to put the system down.

But other advantages emanated from feudalism. It afforded a cheap and ready defence for a nation; the whole populace being thus trained to arms. Under it, also, women rose to power, and chivalry, with its softening influence. Residing in a solitary castle on his own domains, the baron naturally spent much of his time at home when not engaged in war or in the hunting-field; and his wife and daughters thus had an opportunity of exercising their assuaging ascendency over him when they laid aside the labors of the household and its cares. The wife and daughters of a feudal chief were usually amiable. Born and trained in isolation, they had generally all the inher-

ent gentleness of their sex, and gradually attained an ameliorating influence over him in his weaker and solitary hours. The picture of a feudal family is to us especially interesting; the rude and savage baron reclining at home, and his wife and daughters laying aside the needle, their amusements and their cares to dissuade him from some fierce project of violence and war, or console him if he had become the object of these in turn. But they changed him little: he usually sat in stern pomp, and his growl was law.

They were, on the other hand, when thus brought up in solitude, apt to indulge in the coarser passions, and to be destitute of that refinement, the result of association, which constitutes so great an ornament in their sex. Charlemagne's daughters were noted for their profligacy; and when desire thus broke forth, it is probable that the daughters of inferior feudal chiefs were not more delicate in their amours. The pride of birth may, however, have restrained them; for, unlike the heads of Highland clans, the baron stood in no relation of propinquity to his vassals, but held himself aloof in stately grandeur. Freedmen, serfs, and all alike were viewed with disdain by him; the control by his women he in his fiercer outbreaks scarcely brooked; yet it was from this despised population, and this comparatively weak power, that the spirit of freedom arose, and the elements of civilization issued. Europe, coarse and chaotic, thus first emerged from the barbarism into which it had been plunged by the destruction of imperial Rome, and until these humble adherents of the feudal system appeared, we find not the slightest traces of rising refinement. The feudal system consequently appears to have been necessary for the times; and to these rude and savage proprietors of fiefs, their despotic laws and noxious customs, the present state of society owes its existence. Their enactments in many cases became less despotic—in others, they were rudely snapped asunder; their feelings gradually became more refined, and their ideas more in unison with the great bulk of the population.

Other advantages, too, flowed from feudalism. In giving rise to chivalry, it gave rise to a state of society perhaps in many respects Quixotic, but which is still to be valued as the source of a lofty feeling, and a nice sense of honor that prompted men to consider an insult as more keen than a wound, and deem their *parole* as not less sacred than an oath. It was also productive of advantage, inasmuch as it checked any extensive schemes of conquest; feudal armies being usually able in the defence, but seldom competent for the permanent conquest of a country. It also indirectly encouraged commerce, by stimulating a passion for crusades and adventure;

and was hostile to a base accumulation of wealth, besides removing men from the state of slothful barbarity into which they had sunk on the fall of the Roman empire. No other state of society could perhaps have survived the chaos and confusion which then prevailed—a chaos and confusion so complete, that most of the writers of the era supposed that the end of the world was at hand. No epoch of the human race, perhaps, was more gloomy than these dark and repulsive middle ages; literature had sunk; learning had almost ceased to exist; universal stagnation was abroad, and nothing, seemingly, save the rude impulse of feudalism could have aroused mankind from the listlessness and despondency, the despair and the depravity that then threatened to ingulf it. By prescribing a certain fixity of principle, it was also in some degree the origin of modern government. No feudal chief, however powerful, could disregard the opinion of his peers. Even the most powerful king found himself deserted in the field, if he ran counter to the feelings of his inferior vassals; and these, in the main, like mankind in general, were for the most part on the side of equity and right. An humble baron thus could not be oppressed even by his sovereign, without enlisting the sympathy and support of his fellow-chiefs; and had the same feeling been extended to the still humbler and more defenceless people, we might have had a state of society comparatively unobjectionable, and almost wholly in accordance with our modern code of government, which induces us to revolt at an outrage offered to the weak by the strong. Viewed in this light, feudalism is the parent of all modern commonwealths; and if the principle on which it was founded were universally extended, it would produce the most perfect system of government that the world ever saw.

But, unhappily, the blemishes and the crimes of feudalism far surpassed its beauties and advantages. If founded originally as a military institution, it was exceedingly imperfect; no force being more rude and disorderly than a feudal army. The chiefs knew not how to command; their vassals knew not how to obey; the former were chosen solely for their birth, the extent of their possessions, or the number of their followers, wholly irrespective of their own capacity or incapacity to command; and the other remained such a short period in the field, that they never acquired the precision and the firmness of disciplined soldiers. By their tenure, forty days constituted the entire period that a feudal army was bound to remain in the field; and often some of its principal leaders would disappear long ere this period, in consequence of some momentary disappointment or passing caprice. The whole force consequently

was utterly unreliable, and frequently vanished like the snow in the valley. The barons were apt to carry into the camp the same haughty spirit which they maintained at home;* and the soldiers more readily escaped from the vigilance of their wonted control. Unaccustomed, therefore, either to the advantages of obedience or the qualities for command, the whole were generally a disorderly rabble, more formidable to their own sovereign or prince, than to any foreign potentate against whom they might be directed.† An army thus constituted was usually alike feeble and undisciplined, inexperienced and intractable.

But far greater errors and crimes emanated from feudalism, considered as a civil institution, than any disadvantages and faults incidental to it as a military organ. It degraded labor, and regarded with contempt all avocations save those of war. Agriculture, art, commerce, were all looked upon with disdain in the middle ages, and those who followed them were considered as vile unless they attached themselves to the service, or held the stirrup of some lord. The mind was thus stunted, intelligence repressed, and all the higher moral faculties rendered subservient to mere brutal force. The serfs were taught to view their lord with the profoundest respect, crouch before him as a being of a superior order, and trained up in the belief that they were bound to sacrifice all, even their life itself, for the gratification of his whims or desires. A more perfect engine was never devised for the undue elevation of a few, and the general debasement of man; and so thoroughly was this feeling inculcated by the feudal chiefs—so widely was it acquiesced in by their slaves themselves—that even at the present day, in countries like England, where the institution still lingers, we find stalwart men considering themselves as of an inferior fabric, and lovely woman as of a baser order than a depraved and bloated oligarchy. The "villain," as the serf was termed, received no consideration from man, no privilege from law; his sole protection flowed from the will or caprice of his chief; and such were the debasing effects of this arrangement, that the very name has now become a synonym for the vilest species of crime. The incubus pressed fearfully on the people. Unless a man were born within the feudal pale, he might extend his vision on all sides and discern nothing in reserve for himself, save infamy and desolation. The nobles in their castles had frequently to maintain a struggle for powers which they abused, but the whole life of the unhappy serf was one of hardship and woe. The petty vexations, not

* Hume, vi., 203. † Ibid., p. 313.

less than the undoubted severities of the feudal order, pursued him wherever he went, and if he attempted to escape from one estate to another, he was generally followed as a slave, and returned as a chattel. On every side he beheld nothing but misery and oppression; and, even if of elevated mental power, could find no relief from either, unless he consented to withdraw himself from the living world, and entomb himself in a cloister; the church being the only sanctuary that afforded him the slightest shelter.

The church offered this slight protection; and inconsiderable though it was, the relief was great, inasmuch as no other was to be found. In every other direction the feudal nobles alike bearded their sovereign and crushed the people; he who had no place amongst them having no place in society. The protection afforded by the church, accordingly, trivial though it was, produced important results; and, without it, literature, liberty, justice, civilization, society itself, would have perished. This interposition of the Church of Rome in behalf of human rights and human reason is always to be held in respect and gratitude by posterity, for at this moment they found no other asylum; and though the higher clergy on some occasions combined with the feudal chiefs, the humbler priests were generally to be found on the side of the people; both ranks viewing the institution with jealousy and distrust, and secretly pursuing it with unrelenting hostility, until, in all places save in England, these oppressors of mankind were driven from their unmerited elevation and reduced to their inherent insignificance.

It were idle to attempt enumerating at the present day even a tithe of the iniquities and disorders of the feudal system. Selfishness and littleness were its main characteristics; the chiefs being generally intent solely on their own aggrandizement, and for this purpose distracting the peace and security of a kingdom in the numerous conflicts which they maintained either with their sovereign or with each other for the sake of enlarging their domains and increasing their power. The resources of a great country were thus exhausted in numberless petty struggles and debasing paltry intrigues, until the sovereign at last, by politic concession, enlisting and securing the support of the people to his aid, overthrew the numerous small despots who had perpetually annoyed him by their insubordination and the country by their oppressions. One vast system of despotism was thus, indeed, upraised instead, and in countries like France, it enabled the monarch for some ages to reign uncontrolled; but in others, as in England, some show of liberty was usually conceded to the popular will, and the yoke was mitigated, or at least disguised. The forms of liberty were

granted, though the reality was mainly withheld; yet even this was an important concession to the eventual freedom of man. The private wars to which feudalism gave rise are now forgotten; but their result remains in the permanent overthrow of the system.

Feudalism was also eminently the enemy of labor. It discouraged all the arts which tended to alleviate the hardships originally imposed upon man, and did all that it could to aggravate the alleged primeval curse. It was a despotism which denied the rights of life to the poor, and reserved them exclusively for a privileged class. It monopolized political power for the few, and doomed the great mass of mankind to an existence of toil, penury and insult. It was a system of unvarying and unmitigated tyranny, dividing mankind into odious classes and castes. Beyond its narrow circle there was neither free opinion nor progress, and even within the privileged pale all was stationary. Fixed rules and fixed principles—if they could be called such—regulated all things. Mankind were doomed by it to perpetual stagnation; and what rendered the yoke more odious was, that it was a yoke imposed by man. "The human individual grew indignant," says the French historian, Guizot, "on perceiving that the will that weighed upon him was a human, individual will like his own;" and though the proposition is not here either clearly or elegantly expressed, it is redeemed by a simultaneous admission from the same conservative writer, that "feudalism was perhaps the only tyranny that man, to his eternal honor, never would yield to."

Like many other assertions by the same author, this declaration is of too sweeping and comprehensive an order; for man, unhappily, during many ages, was constrained to submit to feudalism, and in Britain we see him voluntarily bending the knee before it still; but yet the system carried within its bosom the seeds of its own dissolution, and consequently little surprise need be excited by its destruction. Its extinction was accordingly hailed with delight when the institution was destroyed by Rodolph of Hapsburg in Germany, Louis the Eleventh in France, and Henry the Seventh in England; though in the last-mentioned country, in many of its most objectionable features, it still survives. Over all the rest of Europe a new phase appeared in society so soon as this system became extinct; and England alone now bears marks of its noxious presence. The deplorable results of it have recently been witnessed in that aristocratic incompetence which consigned a brave army to destruction in the Crimea; but the remains of the fabric will doubtless continue in Britain until revolution or foreign invasion sweeps all away. In the days of the Com-

monwealth the last of its forces fought in England; at present nothing but the slippered pantaloons survive. Throughout the Continent it was speedily extinguished, as an encroachment upon the rights of the monarch. In England it is yet permitted to hold its place, because it opposes a barrier to the progress of the people, the sovereign for obvious reasons acquiescing in this arrangement.

The character of feudalism may be briefly summed up. It was based solely on the license and ascendency of a few, and the general dependence and degradation of man. It was a system despotic alike in theory and in practice, devised for placing all political right and territorial property in the hands of a class, and denying the great bulk of mankind of aught beyond the liberty of mere existence on the meanest scale. Little surprise, therefore, need be excited that it has given rise to general execration—a feeling of wonder that it should ever have been allowed to start into birth, and of astonishment that it should so long have been tolerated. Its lingering existence still in England is only to be accounted for by some innate debasement of man, or such infatuation as that which prompts the dupes and victims of Juggernaut to prostrate themselves and place their necks before the ponderous wheels of the stupid but sanguinary divinity that immolates them. Even the most conservative of British historians denounces it as "a tyranny alike oppressive to the sovereign and the people;"* while one still more unimpassioned and philosophic is constrained to admit that it was "a mixture of liberty and oppression, order and anarchy, stability and revolution, such as never was experienced in any age or any other part of the world."† A great American jurist, imbued with their spirit, has happily blended the denunciation and the analyzing powers of both, by describing it as eventually proving itself to be inconsistent with a civilized and pacific state of society; and adding, "that wherever freedom, commerce, and the arts penetrated and shed their benign influence, the feudal system was gradually undermined, and all its proud and stately columns were successively prostrated in the dust."‡ Of American origin, delicacy prompted him to be moderate in stigmatizing its abuses. He might have been pardoned had he anathematized it as an offshoot of tyranny and darkness, utterly inconsistent with freedom and civilization.

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* Gibbon, chap. 69. † Hume, vol. vi., p. 245.
‡ Kent's *Commentaries on American Law*, iv., 443.

Having thus briefly considered the rise, progress, and fall of feudalism, we will now with still more succinctness allude to its influence upon chivalry and the ascendency of woman.

Chivalry was naturally the offspring of feudalism. Like it, the origin of this institution has also been ascribed to the middle ages, but it was in reality long previously to be found. It cannot, indeed, be traced to an eastern origin, nor was it probably existent amongst the ancient Greeks and Romans; for, in the East, woman has invariably been treated as a slave, and the great western nations of antiquity nurtured a passion for little else than the arts and patriotism. Even in Homer, woman was looked upon as little more than a toy, with whom the savage warriors deigned to amuse themselves when sated with the struggles of battle, or exhausted by the pursuits of the field. But in the comparatively rude state of society among the ancient Germans, chivalry in its higher sense and due devotion to woman, were recorded in the days of Tacitus. That most faithful and concise of historians describes these virtues as characteristic of the Gothic nations of his era, and from an age immemorial. There is little doubt, therefore, that chivalry, like feudalism, took its rise in Western Europe many centuries before the period usually assigned to the nativity of either; and that both were in full force at the period of the Crusades, though this startling epoch in modern annals is usually considered as their origin.

It was unquestionably at this period, however, that they first came into notice. The feudal power had then attained its zenith, and was gradually falling into decline. The world was becoming tired of the dark and gloomy days of feudal despotism; the people were beginning to revolt against the tyranny of the feudal lords; sovereigns and princes were looking about for a means of putting an end to the assumptions of these haughty barons. The female inmates of the feudal castle, as already observed, had gradually been gaining an ascendency over the rugged possessors of these fastnesses, and tempering by their softening influence the harsh and savage spirit of the barons. In the twelfth century, accordingly, a marked change took place. The coarse and brutal manners of the feudal chief were no longer held in estimation; his ferocious violence began to excite disgust, instead of inspiring awe. A spirit more gentle shed its first effulgent rays over the land. Man revolted at the idea of the tyranny and the tortures which had previously been prevalent, and even in some degree held in admiration. A spirit of resistance burst forth, and a new order of adventurers started into being whose main creed was fierce and

uncompromising hostility to despotism, whether it took the form of preying upon religion, on liberty, or on love.

The first, and especially the last of these impulses, were the main inspirations of the new excitement. The knights who now started forth into being cared little for liberty unless it concerned exalted personages. The slow ascendency which woman acquired, remained and advanced even when the passion for liberty and religion had to a great extent vanished; and perpetuated as it now is over the new world of the West, there is little hazard in predicting that it will exist until true liberty and religion itself shall disappear.

The oath which the knight took on this occasion was chiefly to destroy infidels; slaughter of the inhabitants of the East being reckoned an atonement for every species of crime. It was now that chivalry came truly into action. Without the impulse excited by the Crusades, it would probably have expired almost in the hour of its birth; but these religious ebullitions fanned it into flame, and produced a spirit fierce and fervid, but rather fanatical. The good effects that might have sprung from the institution were thus early marred. The religion of the knights was too often synonymous with superstition.

The other part of the knight's oath was of a secular order. He vowed to be true to some often imaginary lady, by whose eyes he swore, and to some equally apochryphal patron saint whom he affected to regard with equal rapture. The lady, when existent, was usually an amorous matron, who, like La Dame des Belles Cousines, attempted to seduce some innocent youth into love, or some younger and more disdainful beauty who often dismissed her admirer on some dangerous enterprise in order to get rid at once of him and his importunities. However undeserving and disdainful these saints and ladies might be, they usually obtained credit from the knight for whatever success attended his achievements; and the most savage blows were dealt in the names of St. Patrick, St. Martin, and St. George, or some fair one to whom it might have been imagined the effusion of blood would have been equally distasteful. Sometimes the ladies, too, would impose upon the prostrate aspirant some ridiculous condition. One lady is recorded by the most illustrious of Scottish writers* as having enjoined an admirer to combat in her shift; and the conduct of others does not appear to have been especially marked by delicacy. *Amadis de Gaul*, the *Round Table*, and other lascivious books of the Middle Ages, were their favorite studies; and their conversation, often rigidly Platonic, was not unfrequently followed by acts of the coarsest gallantry.

* Sir Walter Scott, article *Chivalry*, in Encyclopædia Britannica.

Amongst the Northern nations, the habits of strict purity in which the youth of both sexes were trained, usually preserved them from these early contaminations; but in France, and the warmer regions of the South, chivalry rapidly assumed a lascivious aspect. Yet from this in reality emanated most of the gentler and softening influences of the order. Men gradually became less savage when called on to prostrate themselves at beauty's shrine; and woman imparted to them her assuaging virtues, if she was too often prodigal of her charms. The point of honor, too, began to be regarded as sacred. Faithful in his vows to the lady of his affections, the knight was expected to carry an equally scrupulous care for the character of his word into all of his actions. Hence arose that sanctity of *parole*, which, though dating from the days of Regulus, is the safeguard of all modern transactions; and which, even in the midst of despotism, reconciles us to tyranny, as affording us security in all the intercourse of daily life. It was the sanctity of parole which invested chivalry with that superiority it long maintained over the less scrupulous maxims of commerce; and still more than the refinement which the institution engendered has it, in the words of Burke, stripped vice of half its hideousness by stripping it of half its grossness.

But chivalry was early diverted from its true purpose by the machinations of kings. Ambitious princes were not long in discovering how it might be perverted for their views, by leading it in a false direction. Troublesome vassals at home were accordingly incited to engage in distant and perilous adventures, in order to relieve their immediate superior from their presence. The church, ever disposed to break down the feudal and military power, was readily induced to concur with the movement, if, indeed, she did not in reality instigate it. A thirst for Quixotic undertakings was consequently excited, and soon the passion for the crusades followed. Under the former Europe was overrun by a band of adventurers, wild as any subsequently ridiculed in Don Quixote, sometimes redressing real grievances, but more frequently placing their services at the disposal of whimsical dames in elevated life, for whom alone their sympathies existed; while under the latter, the whole continent was induced to precipitate itself in one maddening stream into Asia, carrying destruction wherever it appeared, and being itself almost utterly destroyed in the revulsion.

But this diversion of the institution from its original purpose tended also to withdraw it from its original design, and invest it with a still greater degree of a military aspect. Youth, destined for future knights, were now mainly trained

to arms. The institution being almost exclusively designed for those who were insultingly described as of "noble birth," the future knight was generally about the twelfth year of his age dispatched from the patrimonial castle to that of some higher friendly baron, where he would be under stricter discipline than if he had remained subject only to the laxity of paternal control. Here, under the name of Page, he was early trained to martial exercises. In due season he was taught to manage the horse, the lance, the sword, the bow; and varied these military exercises by attending his lord to the hunting-field. To the dangers of the chase he was inured; he was accustomed to spend days, and, if need were, nights, in the forest; to face the stag and wild boar, and sometimes grapple with the wolf. He had, of course, his moments of relaxation and repose. In return for these hardships, the more especially if successfully surmounted, he was permitted to bask in the smiles of the lady or a daughter of the house; and though trained to look upon them with most reverential awe, he was sometimes regarded by those fair ladies with a fervor which, as in the instance of the Dame des Belles Cousines, not unfrequently passed the limits of boyish attraction, and raised all the flames of lawless love.

The Esquire was the next degree in the order of chivalry. It does not appear that the Pages often, if ever, strove for this dignity. They, on the contrary, were rather high-born and pampered youth who aspired, after a brief novitiate, at once to attain to the honors of knighthood, or at least passed the intervening years in a species of idle luxuriance or gentle dalliance. The Esquire, however, was the faithful attendant of his master or the stalwart man-at-arms, who just as seldom, on his part, sought for the dignity of knighthood. He was constantly present with him in the field, and even in some degree discharged for him the duties of a valet. He took charge of the knight's horse, and had a special eye to the due care of his accoutrements. He was not only expected to dress his master for the conflict, but to observe with peculiar heed that the arms were perfect. A good Esquire was supposed to be capable of repairing a coat of mail, if need were, and he discharged many other duties which would now be considered as inconsistent with the position of a gentleman. He was expected to dance and throw somersaults for his master's amusement, and even to mount between the partition walls like a chimney-sweep, by means of his back and hands and knees. It was also considered a desirable accomplishment that he should be able to climb the reverse of a ladder by means of his hands exclusively, though it appears to us a more useful

feat that he should be agile enough to mount, or spring at full gallop from, a horse's crupper. He rarely fought in person, but bore his master's shield and helmet, and led his battle-horse; the knight, when on march, usually riding on a humble palfry. The Esquire, besides, took charge of the prisoners captured in battle, and was sometimes permitted to assist in taking them, though he never enjoyed much of the honor of the deed, still less of the ransom. Altogether, his duties and his aspect were considerably different from the modern opinion attached to the word, and which induces us to consider it as indissolubly associated with the proud designation of a modern gentleman. Every man in this position now-a-days considers it an insult not to be addressed as an Esquire; but the primitive meaning of the term was less exclusive. The main recommendation of the Esquire, in our opinion, was, that he was generally a man of modest worth and fortune, contented with his lot, who rarely aspired to the condition of knighthood, because his finances permitted not the elevation. He thus preferred remaining in a position of comparative independence, being unwilling to place himself in a position where his poverty would only become the more conspicuous. Some of these men, however, were equally aspiring and bold. They led their own followers into the field, and unfurled their own standard. They were a sort of democratic gentlemen, who disdained knightly honors; and, being thus haughty and independent, they naturally rose in rank as well as in popular estimation. In a subsequent age they formed some of the boldest of the chivalry of England—the race from whom the Pyms, the Hampdens, and the Cromwells were descended; and a modern Esquire or gentleman is justly considered the equal of any crowned head whatever; one of the ablest, and by no means most offensive of modern monarchs,* being more ambitious of the title of "First Gentleman in Europe," than of any other designation which as King of England he bore.

The knight was the last degree in the order of chivalry, and when the institution was in its vigor, he was considered the equal as well as the companion of kings. Monarchs indeed often strove to receive the honor of knighthood from some noted member of the order—as Francis the First, for example, from the chivalrous though somewhat Quixotic and exaggerated Bayard. Eventually, indeed, they monopolized this prerogative, as they monopolized every other; but, in the outset, the institution was of a more democratic character, the humblest knight being considered as the peer of the king.

* George the Fourth, whom it is now so much the fashion in England to decry, as it was formerly to flatter.

The ceremonies of his investiture have been already alluded to. Religious in the first instance, they gradually became military; though for long the knight, after receiving his titular honor on the field, or from the hands of the prince, was conducted to the church to undergo the ecclesiastical ceremonies also. When thus installed, he still remained subject to two divisions—the knights-bachelors, or single knights, who were too poor to maintain an equipage, and the knights-baronets, who were expected to bring at least thirty men-at-arms into the field, each attended by four men on foot, and a cross-bow-man with another bearing a battle-axe on horseback. A formidable force—often amounting to a thousand men—was thus frequently assembled under one knight, and these men often sold themselves as mercenaries in war. During peace, they maintained themselves in practice by attending the tournaments then so common; and monarchs then often held these tournaments for the purpose of assembling a large body of men under their banner—as in the instance of Edward the Third, who, prior to his invasion of France, invited knights from all quarters of Europe to attend at one of those absurd ceremonies. The pastime here, however, was sometimes dangerous, and eventually it became necessary to enjoin that the knight should contend with pointless swords and headless lances. Besides these weapons, the knight was generally armed with a mace or a truncheon, which he bore in front of his saddle; and though this may appear to have been a coarse, if not cumbrous weapon, it sometimes happened that an opposition knight had his helmet nailed to his skull by a stroke, though more frequently he was unhorsed by a blow from the lance, and often smothered on the ground in his own armor. This armor was generally of the most cumbrous description; a knight usually wearing one, and occasionally two cuirasses over a ringed coat of mail. Small honor was therefore due to them for the hardihood and havoc with which they attacked unharmed masses of peasantry, as in the Jacquaries of France; though, when gunpowder was brought into use, they experienced equal reverses and destruction in turn.

But long before this period, knighthood had begun to decay. The bannerets—or baronets as they subsequently became—had degenerated into mere mercenaries in war, or were conspicuous only for their pomp and wealth amid their hereditary honors in peace; and the knights-bachelors, from stationing themselves on some bridge or forest-pass to challenge all who disputed the supremacy of their lady's charms, were frequently guilty of committing open robbery on the highway. The knights-templars and the hospitallers of Jerusalem had also introduced some of the most obnoxious vices from the East;

and men who at first vowed to strike down tyranny and protect female innocence, ultimately indulged in every species of oppression and lust. The absurd practice of settling public as well as private disputes by duels, or judicial combats, likewise contributed to bring the institution into disrepute. A mode of combat designed to protect the weak against the strong, thus threatened to degenerate into hiring assassination for the benefit of the wealthy; and long before James the First had for ever degraded knighthood by rendering its titles hereditary and vending them for gold, the institution had become utterly contemptible in all parts of Europe, save in England. Previously, a knight had been degraded by being subject to have his spurs cut off by a cock's cleaver, his arms reversed by the hangman, and his sword ignominiously broken, if guilty of treason, falsehood or cowardice; but it was reserved for modern days to render the title synonymous with baseness, subserviency, and degradation.

But while viewing its present humiliation, we must not forget some of the advantages that flowed from chivalry. So soon as it was generally introduced, courtesy and refinement of manners followed, and wars were conducted with less barbarity. It became the highest source of human glory to rescue the weak from oppression, woman from insult, and unprotected devotees, such as hermits, from rapine. Punctilio also came into vogue, and a rigid adherence to the sanctity of his parole became the leading qualification of a gentleman. The sentiments which it thus inspired survived when the institution itself declined; and great part of that social equality which now exists in all the refined circles of modern life is mainly to be traced to chivalry. It contributed to the refinement and polish of Europe, and the beneficial effects of the example it thus inculcated are still at the present day to be traced in regions where republicanism has wholly repudiated the different gradations of ranks, which the institution acknowledged and engendered. It may not indeed be entitled to the high laudations of Burke, who proclaims it to be "the untaught grace of life, the cheap defence of nations, the nurse of manly sentiment and heroic enterprise;" but it is still entitled to the merit of having given birth to that sensibility of principle and nice sense of honor which rendered a stain more acute than a wound, and inspired courage at the same moment that it mitigated ferocity; though we wholly dissent from the opinion of the same philosopher, "that it ennobled whatever it touched."*

* *Reflections on the French Revolution.*

The objections to chivalry, on the other hand, were great. It impelled no patriotism, excited no love of liberty; it virtually abjured or ignored the humble, and it was mainly to courts and the lofty that its regard and services extended. It moreover produced a passion for useless enterprises and impossible adventures, and gave rise to fanatical outbursts of valor, which eventually degenerated into ridicule and Quixotism. Love under it was quickly followed by licentiousness, generosity gave rise to prodigality, and courage itself became synonymous with absurdity. The wild exploits of its knights, which formerly excited such admiration amongst the feudal circles whose sole literature they formed, are now only remembered with ridicule in the pages of Cervantes, or associated with the exploded and contemptible science of heraldry. Some relics of ancient stateliness alone at the present day survive those formalities which formerly were the charm of elevated society in Europe; but throughout the rest of the world those stately and fantastic manners are judiciously exploded as alike absurd and tiresome.

Numberless abuses, at an early period of its existence, crept into the institution, and the knights ultimately plumed themselves chiefly on their sensuality and ignorance. Originally its followers were constrained to study letters as well as arms; but eventually the most noted of their number could scarcely read, and knowledge at last began to be considered by them as the badge of vulgarity. Under such circumstances it need excite no surprise that their gallantry in the end degenerated into grossness, their religion into superstition, their courage into ferocity, and that the whole order became utterly incompatible with the existence and progress of society. Notwithstanding the occasional punishment inflicted on them, the knights at last became equally profane and intolerable. "God," said one of these worthies, "I beseech thee do to-day to La Hire as he would do for you were he God and you La Hire;"* and the Templars, it is well known, long before their suppression, had become not less blasphemous than arrogant and grasping. A general feeling of relief was accordingly experienced when dissipation and prodigality at last ruined the fortunes of the knights. Even the most religious of them, on returning from the East, evinced manners worse than equivocal, and the mind ultimately revolted from the idea of defenceless crowds being attacked by steel-clad men, who fought within their panoply of armor, almost incapable of being subject to the wounds they inflicted. Accordingly, when, in the end, solitary knights

* Villaret, *Histoire de France.*

were found acting as highwaymen, and knights-bannerets hiring themselves out as mercenaries, utterly contemptuous of principle; when in battle they were discovered to be solely intent upon obtaining booty, and invariably disappeared so soon as they had secured a wealthy prisoner, a general feeling of execration and contempt was excited, which eventually, to the signal relief and improvement of mankind, put an end, in the fifteenth century, to the order, in all countries throughout Europe, save in England, where its most absurd and noxious institutes still survive.*

We have dilated at such length on the advantages and disadvantages of chivalry that it becomes almost superfluous to sum up its character. Nevertheless, in a few lines this may be done, chiefly by appealing to the three great writers who are usually received as standard authorities upon this subject wherever the English language is spoken. The opinions of the equally celebrated Burke have already been cited. Hyperbolically devoted to the institution, he is opposed by the calmer judgment of Hume, the cooler philosophy of Gibbon, and in some degree also, by the weaker but graceful elocution of Robertson. The first of these great writers, whose History of England is only the more conspicuously brought into relief by the puniness of all subsequent attempts to imitate it, speaks with contempt of its "whimsical principles which in those times gave [savage] men some superiority over people of a more cultivated age and nation," and very properly alludes with disdain to the conflicts of the middle ages, as more resembling routs than battles.† The second, as might have been anticipated, is more decisive still; expressing his contempt for that order of chivalry which could never discriminate caution from courage, and those times when war was a passion rather than a science, every labor being held servile except the profession of arms, though, with the impartiality which usually marks his glowing columns, he pays due homage to that "true spirit of chivalry which inspired the generous sentiments and social offices of man."‡ But it is the last of these authors who has, perhaps, most gracefully treated it and spoken of it with as much fervor, though perhaps more suppressed, as that exhibited by Burke for Marie Antoinette, in behalf of the equally unfortunate Mary Stuart. His graceful periods, however, are too well known for us to quote or recapitulate them here. All him, her own condition was raised in turn from being the mere

* For the "Virtues of Chivalry" in England the curious may consult Lyttelton's (Lord) History of Henry the Second, vol. iii., p. 161, *et seq.*

† Hume, chap. 15.

‡ Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, &c., chap. 58, 59, 60, *passim*.

these writers, nevertheless, lose sight of the great fact that chivalry was founded on principles utterly subversive of freedom and equality; that it was designed solely for the benefit of a class, and that its followers were entirely contemptuous of the rights of the people. The welfare of the great body of mankind seems never to have entered into their thoughts; on the contrary, they appear to have spurned it, and in our opinion—in the discriminating opinion of posterity—there was infinitely more of cowardice than courage in the conduct of these steel-clad and panoplied knights, attacking unarmed and defenceless men. Still this was considered one of the greatest feats in the history of these nominally chivalric chiefs. Every battle of the Middle Ages teems with narratives of the sanguinary havoc caused by these mailed warriors and the caparisoned horses breaking in upon the ranks of almost wholly unprotected peasants. In the beautiful words of a popular tribune, not inferior in beauty and force of languge to any of the authors quoted, the unreflecting are apt "to pity the plumage and forget the dying bird;" though to us the devotion of these knights to courts, their habitual contempt and enslavement of the people, appears far to have outweighed any service to civilization and refinement which they may have rendered.

But with chivalry, there was associated one advantage which still survives. It elevated the condition and influence of woman, and for the first time perhaps in the history of the world, viewed her as superior to mere sensual passion. The ancient Roman matrons, indeed, were invested with a certain character of dignity; but they were chiefly looked upon as designed solely for the propagation of Roman citizens and soldiers. Concerning those of earlier eras we now have no accurate criterion, save that in the time of Homer, they appear to have been regarded mainly as sensualists; and in the days of Abraham, principally as slaves. The rude denizen of the German forest first invested woman with superior dignity. She became the partner of his joys as well as the soother of his sorrows. Towards her, love for the first time ceased to be wholly lascivious. She exercised over him her softening influence and brightened his intelligence. She was no longer regarded as a mere animal, but imparted firmness to his character and elevation to his sentiments. She afforded him aid and counsel in life, tended him through all his hardships, and assuaged his sufferings amid the agonies of death. His mental powers were thus increased, his spiritual elevated nature was developed; she tempered his obstinacy into firmness, and invested him with a share of her own delicacy of thought. Having thus elevated

handmaid of household economy, she rose to her proper rank in the world's esteem, and became an object for devotion and respect, instead of one for mere pleasure and jest.

But if, with the progress of true chivalry, woman thus advanced, with its corruption she descended too. When women became the objects of fantastic worship and adoration, the weakness of the female mind was disclosed, and her character deteriorated. Her feminine delicacy diminished, her coarser passions augmented. She became the subject of ambition as well as love, and from her former condition of being man's slave, aspired to the rank of ruling him as a master. The inherent frailty of her character was thus disclosed, especially in those countries where she thus attained undue ascendency. In France, for example, where from a position of less than domestic equality she was raised to one of political supremacy, all the baneful influence of female passions was illustrated. In England, equal grossness was in the interval exhibited in the character of Elizabeth, though this possibly in some degree arose from the absence of any Salic law to exclude her from the throne. Still, wherever woman has stepped from her sphere and aspired to be the controller instead of the companion of man, it will be found that the character and condition of both have deteriorated; and instead of becoming, in the glowing words of the poetical Burke, "a lily among thorns in the briery wood, with a smile pleasant as the light of morning, and an eye like the gate of heaven," she proves to be at once his scourge and his bane.

ART. V.—1. *The Pocket Encyclopædia of Natural Phenomena.* London. 1862.

2. *Vorlesungen über die Sternkunde,* 1833. *(Lectures on the Science of Astronomy, &c.)* Berlin.

3. *Researches concerning the Periodical Meteors of August and November.* By SEARS C. WALKER, A. P. S. Read before the Amer. Phil. Society of Philadelphia, and published in their Transactions. 4to.

4. *Relation Historique du Voyage aux Régions Equinox.* Paris. 1860.

5. *Transactions of the American Society.* Vol. VI.

6. *Exposition du Système du Monde.* Par LAPLACE. Paris.

OF all phenomena, none rivets the attention more, or leads the patient inquirer into richer fields of research, than the

brilliant and mysterious meteor which flashes out from the illimitable ether, inspires us with momentary emotions of grandeur, and sweeps onward to the accomplishment of its lonely mission. And yet the mass of unthinking, self-absorbed observers allow those ebullitions of enthusiasm to subside, without any effort to inquire into the causes or effects of phenomena, the frequent occurrence of which, sufficiently attests their important agencies. The hackneyed routine of daily life saps the freshness of intellectual ambition; but it is grateful to experience even a passing admiration for those loftier natures who, rising above the sordid avarice of this plodding world, have loved science for the mental gratification it yielded them, and found their reward for long years of toil and sacrifice in the glimmer of an unknown planet, in the discovery of a new metal or shapeless aërolite. If, unlike these, we have neither the inclination nor the resources of pioneers, we may at least gather in the fruits of their life-long labors, and become grateful gleaners in fields still rich with ungarnered treasures.

Meteor, (the Greek μεταρος, signifying high, sublime,) is a general term applied by meteorologists to all transient phenomena of the heavens, including both fiery and watery. To the former belong the shooting-stars. Fire-balls and aërolites, which, however unlike they may appear as they glide through the upper regions, can scarcely be considered separately, since they not only may occur simultaneously, but each assumes the character of the other, in the enumeration of their sparks, the size of their disks, and in the velocity of their motions. Like comets, they were formerly regarded by the ignorant as precursors of war, famine, pestilence, and national disaster, and only to be exorcised by prayer, conjurations, and self-abnegation. Their erratic wanderings have been found registered upon the mouldy parchments of monasteries, sealed up in the archives of the Greeks, and brought to light among the chronicles of the indefatigable Chinese.

Neither are the Scriptures without testimony in regard to this interesting subject; since we are told in Joshua, 10:11, that as "they fled before Israel, and were going down to Bethhoron, that the Lord cast down *great stones from heaven* upon them into Azekah, and they died." Profane history contains copious notices of aërolites. Damascius, in an extract of his Life of Isidorus, relates that a *bætul* fell on Mount Libanus, in a "globe of fire." A fragment of Sanchoniathon, preserved by Eusebius in his *Præparatio Evangelæ*, (1:10,) informs us that these stones were fabricated by the God Uranus, one of whose sons was named Bætul; and we are told in the

same chapter, that Astarte found "a star" which had fallen from heaven.

The famous stone known as the "Mother of the Gods," according to Appian, Herodian, and Marcellinæus, fell from heaven. Aristodemus affirms that it fell at the feet of Pindar, as he was seated upon a hill, and that it was encircled by fire. Herodian expressly says that the Phœnicians had no statue of the sun polished by hand, but that the supposed statue was only a stone, circular below, but angular above, cone-like in form, and of a black color; which, according to report, fell from heaven; and he adds, that it was regarded by the people as an image of the sun. It is recorded by Livy that 650 B. C., in the reign of Tullus Hostilius, a shower of stones fell on the Alban Mount. Among the most remarkable of aërolites is the large stone which fell near Ægos Potamos, in Thrace, about the year in which Socrates was born. Of this Pliny affirms that it was "as large as a cart, and of a burned color, and was exhibited in his day as a public curiosity." Plutarch, in the life of Lysander, says that the Chersonesi held the Thracian stone in great reverence. The fall of this stone is also registered in the Parian Marble Chronicles as follows: "From the time when *the stone fell* at Ægos Potamos, and the poet Simonides died at the age of ninety." Unfortunately, this meteoric treasure has been lost to the world; it is still hoped, however, that it may be found, although more than 2,300 years have passed away.

Cæsar records the descent of an aërolite at Accilla 76 B. C. Another huge aërolite is that which fell into the river Narne at the beginning of the ninth century. It is described as follows, or rather referred to, as a miracle, by a Benedictine monk of that period: "In the year 921, in the time of Pope John X., in the seventh year of his pontificate, wonders *(signa)* were seen. In the city of Rome many stars were seen to fall from heaven. Those that fell in the town called Narnia were so black and terrible that nothing else was believed than that they came from the infernal regions. One of the largest which fell into the river Narnus projected one cubit above the water, where it may be seen to this day."—("Anno 921, temporibus domini Johannis pape, in anno pontificatus illius septem visa sunt signa. Nam juxta urbem Romam lapides plurimi de cœlo cadere visi sunt. In civitate quæ vocatur Narnia tam diri ac tetri, ut nihil aliud credatur quam de infernalibus locis deducti essent. Nam ita ex illis lapidibus unus omnium maximus est ut decidens in flumen Narnus ad menduram unius cubiti super aquas fluminis usque hodie videretur."—*Chronicæ Benedicti, &c.*

The celebrated stone of Ensisheim fell in 1492, and is recorded thus: "There happened a singular miracle; for between 11 o'clock and noon, there was heard a loud peal of thunder, and a prolonged, confused noise; and a stone fell from the air which weighed 260 pounds." It was seen to fall into a field, where the writer very naively says, "it did no harm, except that it made a hole there." Unfortunately, many pieces were carried away as curiosities before the landvogt exerted his authority to preserve it; after which, he caused it to be suspended in the church of Ensisheim, "to preserve it in the public recollection." In the Commentary of Surius, a Carthusian monk of Cologne gives an account of a shower of stones which fell in Lombardy in 1510, the heaviest of which weighed 120 pounds. These are described as having been harder than flint, and smelling of sulphur.

In the Memoirs of the Emperor Jehan-Schah, written by himself, and translated by Colonel Fitzpatrick, an account is given of a stone that fell in the province of Lahore in 1620. Ferisista has described the same in glowing colors, and adds, that "this son of thunder" was converted into "two scimetars, one dagger, and a knife," by the order of the emperor. The workmen to whom this unusual confidence was intrusted reported that "this son of thunder" was not malleable, and that it shivered when hammered; "upon which," says the emperor in his own Memoirs, "I ordered it to be mixed with other iron. Conformably to my orders, three parts of *the iron of lightning* were mixed with one part of common iron, and from the mixture were made two sabres, one knife, and one dagger."

We are informed by Cassendi, that in 1627, about ten in the morning, during a clear sky,* he saw a flaming stone descend upon Mount Vaision, which was surrounded by brilliant colors like a rainbow, accompanied by a report. It weighed 59 pounds, and its specific gravity was to that of marble as 17 to 11. In a very obscure book, printed at Paris, in 1672, it was stated that during a perfectly serene and mild night, "stones fell which seemed all on fire, and came from

* It seems that in general the clearer the sky in any particular region, the more fire-balls and shooting-stars it furnishes. Doubtless what is nearer the truth is, that more can be seen in such an atmosphere than in one that is dark and cloudy. It is estimated that ten times as many of each are seen at Bokhara as at any other place in the East, but the reason is sufficiently explained by Sir Alexander Burnes. "There is a constant serenity," he says, "in its atmosphere, and an admirable clearness in the sky. At night the stars have uncommon lustre, and the Milky Way shines gloriously in the firmament. There is also a never-ceasing display of the most brilliant meteors, which dart like rockets in the sky; ten or twelve of them are sometimes seen in an hour, assuming every color—fiery-red, blue-pale, and faint."—*Travels into Bokhara*, vol. ii., p. 158.

above;" and it is added that some three to four hundred eye-witnesses were greatly alarmed, and were at a loss what to think of it.

But still more extraordinary than any already mentioned was the shower of stones which fell near St. Aigle, in Normandy, on the 26th of April, 1803, and is described by many writers as among the most astonishing upon record. Aroused by loud reports like repeated claps of thunder, the people were surprised to find the sky clear, with the exception of small clouds, and that stones were being rained down from the heavens, accompanied with hissing sounds. It was noticed upon this occasion, that previous to the reports, the domestic fowls were unusually agitated, and that the cows bellowed as they have been known to do upon the occasions of earthquakes. The people, especially the women, were greatly alarmed, believing that the end of all things was at hand; and a laborer in La Sapée fell prostrate to the ground, exclaiming, "Good God, is it possible that Thou canst make me to perish thus? Pardon, I beseech Thee, all the faults that I have committed!"

There is an aërolite in South America estimated to be 30,000 pounds weight, and another 14,000. There is one in Yale College cabinet, from the Red River in Arkansas, which weighs 1,635 pounds. Pallas discovered one in Siberia which weighed 1,600 pounds, and which was found to contain crystals of chrysolite. An extraordinary fall of stones at Crema and on the shores of the Adda is upon record, and a very fanciful description by Petreus, Martyr of Anghiera, represents the darkness as being almost total. This fall occurred on the 4th of September, 1511, about mid-day, and was accompanied by thunder and lightning, such as, if Petreus is to be credited, "never was known by mortal before;" and he proceeds to say that "Saxa demisit in Cremen si planitié (ubi nullus unquam æquans ovum lapis visus fuit) immense magnitudinis, ponderis egregii. Decem fuisse reperta centilibralia saxa ferunt."* The writer also says, that himself received a fragment, "the size of a fist," which he showed to King Ferdinanda of Spain, in the presence of Conzalo de Cordova. Cardamus has left a more sober account of the same phenomenon, which he tells us occurred when he was about nine years of age, and estimates the number of stones which must have fallen to have been not less than 1,200, one of which was of an iron-gray color, and of great density.† According to a Mongolian tradition, a fragment of rock forty feet in height, of a black color,

* Opus Epistolarum. Amst., 1670. No. ccccIxv., p. 245-246.
† Opera, ed. Lugd., 1663, tom. iii., lib. xv., cap. lxxii., p. 279.

fell from the upper regions upon a plain near the source of the Great Yellow River in Western China. In the year 921, an aërolite fell into the river Narni, of such huge proportions, that it projected four feet above the water: "ut nihil aliud credatur, quam de infernalibus locis deducti essent."*

It would be impossible to describe the vast numbers of these interesting phenomena, all of which are more or less authenticated by reliable authorities, which are scattered through the writings of Howard, Thenard, Klaproth, Proust, Vauquelin, Langier, and the numerous writers familiar to observers of celestial phenomena.

Three hypotheses have been put forward to account for the fall of shooting-stars, fire-balls, and aërolites. 1st. That they are meteors formed like rain and hail, by the aggregation of their particles in the atmosphere. 2d. That they are projected from the volcanoes of the moon. (Laplace calculated that even at a velocity four times less than that of a cannon-ball, a body would reach our earth from the moon in 2½ days.) 3d. That advanced by the German philosopher, Chladni, who published his views in 1797 and 1819, recognizing the connection between fire-balls and falling stones, and considered these bodies as small planets, or fragments of planets moving through space, and which lose their velocity when entering our atmosphere, and consequently fall to the earth. Other hypotheses have been advanced, which have received consideration. After the discovery of electricity, meteors were very generally attributed to that agent. Professor Clap, late President of Yale College, supposed meteors to be terrestrial comets, revolving about the sun, and becoming luminous when brought in contact with the earth's atmosphere. Two years after the appearance of the first edition of Chladni's treatise,† Litchenberg, in the *Göttingen Taschenbuch*, affirms that "stones reach our atmosphere from the remoter regions of space;" and we find this theory gradually receiving the support of Olbers, Benrenberg, Brandes, and indeed of most meteorologists of the present day.

The comparatively recent and memorable fall of shooting-stars which occurred in the United States in November, 1833, was a very striking confirmation of the cosmical origin of these phenomena, since it was shown by Denison Olmsted, at New Haven, Connecticut, that the fire-balls and shooting-stars emerged from the star in the constellation Leo, and did not deviate from that point, although, in the mean while,

* MSS. from the Chronicon Benedicti Monarchi Sancti, Andræ in Monte Socrate.
† Nebec den ursprung der von Pallas, gefundenem und anderen Eisen masson.

the star changed both its azimuth and height. This entire independence of the earth's rotation proves, very conclusively, that these meteors must have reached our atmosphere from some region *without*. It is probable that very many of these cosmical bodies revolve about the sun, without even being acted upon by our atmosphere—while others may receive only a slight increase of eccentricity in their orbits, occasioned by the earth's attraction; all these must remain unknown, and their very existence problematic.

No where has there been a finer meteoric display, in modern times, than that just referred to. We are told that the stars fell, on this occasion, like flakes of snow, "and that no fewer than 240,000 must have fallen in the course of nine hours." "It would be difficult," says Mr. Aiken, of Maryland, "for one who had not witnessed the grand exhibition to conceive the effect of this uninterrupted succession of innumerable meteors, proceeding from a point so nearly vertical, towards the whole circumference of the horizon, and this, too, during the stilness of night, and with an atmosphere perfectly transparent. It could only be compared to one grand and continued discharge of fireworks, occupying the whole visible heavens." One ball was observed which seemed to cast all the rest into the shade. This is spoken of by an observer in Georgia as follows: "It seemed to pursue, as near as we could judge, a course from southeast to southwest, the ball being apparently five or six inches in diameter, with a train of from thirty to forty feet in length; the latter assuming, immediately on the passage of the meteor, a serpentine form, and diffusing a light upon the earth quite equal to that of the full moon, and remaining intense for at least forty or fifty seconds." Referring to the same ball, Prof. Olmsted, of New Haven, says that "it was observed to shoot off in the northwest direction, and explode a little northward of the star Capella, leaving just behind the place of explosion a phosphorescent train of peculiar beauty. This line was at first nearly straight, but it shortly began to contract in length, to dilate in breadth, and to assume the figure of a serpent drawing himself up, until it appeared like a small luminous cloud of vapor." We are informed by President Humphreys that "many persons became exceedingly alarmed; the light was so intense that some were aroused from sleep by the brilliant illumination of their apartments, and were under the apprehension that their dwellings were in flames." In commenting on these phenomena, M. Arago observes: "We thus become more and more confirmed in the belief *that there exists a zone composed of millions of small bodies whose orbits cut the*

plane of the ecliptic,* at about the point which our earth usually occupies between the 11th and 13th of November."†

Shooting-stars, with which we became familiar in childhood, and which we never cease to gaze after with interest, fall either sporadically, or in large numbers and streams of many thousands; which latter phenomenon occurs at stated periods, and is termed periodical. The months of August and November have presented the most numerous and brilliant streams of shooting-stars, and there are at least five or six other periods of lesser manifestations, during all of which, it is observable that the stars proceed from given points in the heavens, Algol in Perseus forming the principal point of departure.

Edward Heis, of Aix-la-Chapelle, who has devoted ten years of close observation to the examination of these paths of divergence, says that he found those of the November period more dispersed than those of the August, and that besides Algol in Perseus, he found other principal points in Leo, Cassiopea and the Dragon's Head. Of 407 stars which were noticed as falling in four years, 171 came from Perseus, 83 from Leo, 35 from Cassiopea, and 40 from the Dragon's Head. This preponderance of the Perseus point has not, however, been obtained by other reliable observers, from which it is inferred that the centres of divergence are to be found in those constellations towards which the earth moves at the time of the phenomenon.

It is a question still open to discussion, whether the different points of divergence alter with the years, since it is found that certain points are always represented, while others are more or less variable. If these meteors revolve in closed rings, such an alteration would assume that the situation of the ring itself was variable. The usual number of falling stars is estimated by Herm. Julius Schmidt, after many years of observation, to be from four to five an hour, while in periodic meteors as many as thirteen or fifteen, and even one hundred and sixty, have been obtained. The periodic stream, familiar to us as the Laurentius, so called from its occurrence upon St. Lawrence day, upon which occasion the heavens were supposed to shed "fiery tears," first led to closer observations regarding the periodic returns of these brilliant visitants.

There was formerly preserved in Christ Church, Cambridge, a manuscript written in the tenth century by a monk,‡

* Kepler considered both shooting-stars and fire-balls as having nothing to do with astronomy, being, he thought, "meteors arising from the exhalations of the earth and blending with the higher ether."—*Epit. Astron. Copernicanæ.*

† *Annuaire*, 1836, p. 296.

‡ *Ephemerides Rerum Naturalium.*

in which the daily phenomenon of the year was recorded. The Laurentius stream was noticed by the author, by inscribing against the 10th of August the word "*Meteorodes.*" Quetelet, Olbers, Benrenberg and others afterwards established the periodicy of this brilliant phenomenon.

Although these phenomena have been considered as existing independently of the distance from the pole and all climatic influences, we may infer that some connection exists between them and the phenomena known as the northern lights, since the latter have been observed to glow with unusual splendor upon the occasion of most of these periodic returns. During the fall of shooting-stars in 1833 and 1838 this connection was remarkably obvious. Admiral Wrangel also bears witness that during his own observations on the Siberian coast of the Polar Sea, he observed that during an Aurora Borealis "certain portions of the vault of heaven which were not illuminated lit up and continued luminous whenever a shooting-star passed over them."* Instances are upon record, however, where no such dependence appeared to exist. On the night of the 12th and 13th of November, during a fall of meteors, a brilliant northern light covered the sky with a blood-red light. The shooting-stars darted across this region, but remained white. It does not follow that no affinity exists between the two phenomena, but simply that upon this occasion the northern lights were more remote from the earth's surface, and that the stars glided between them and the spectator.

The velocity of shooting-stars is estimated at from eighteen to thirty-six geographical miles a second, and that of four observed by Houseau, in Mons, as well as by others, had a velocity of between forty-six and ninety-five miles in a second, which is two to five times as great as the planetary velocity of the earth.

Fire-balls appear to move slower than shooting-stars. It is still questionable whether anything has ever fallen from shooting-stars to the earth. Many of them are only luminous points; others phosphorescent lines; others attended by luminous trains, miles in length, while the stars themselves are exceedingly variable, both in magnitude and color; the first increasing to the apparent magnitude of Jupiter and Venus; the latter including many brilliant hues. Of 4,000 observations, collected during nine years, two-thirds were found to be white, one-seventh yellow, one-seventeenth yellowish-red, and one-thirty-seventh green; thus proving that chemical differences exist in the elements of which these bodies are composed. It

* *Cosmos*, vol. i., p. 127.

has been conjectured that shooting-stars were of more brilliant appearance in warm than in cold latitudes; but this increased brilliancy may arise, not from any existing difference in the stars, but from the purity of the atmosphere, and its freedom from the clouds and haze which so often retard meteoric observations in colder countries.

In all climates it has been found that the greatest numbers of stars are seen to fall between the hours of two and five in the morning, and that the frequency of the meteors increase with the length of the time from midnight. It has been suggested that some variation in the time of the return of these stars might exist, called the horary variation, and M. Coulvier Gravier has contributed an essay upon this subject to the Institute at Paris, which treats upon "*La Variation horaire des étoiles filantes.*" The height of the points in which shooting-stars commence and cease to be visible have been found to vary in a great degree, since they fluctuate between sixteen and one hundred and forty miles from the earth's surface.

Although falling-stars and fire-balls are associated together, and the former are usually accompanied with the latter during their periodic streams, it is very doubtful whether they are to be considered as identical, since the fire-balls are more frequently seen alone, showing no periodicy, no preference for points of departure from any given constellation, and are slower in their progress; and while the falling-stars have left no known deposits upon the earth's surface, the fire-balls have covered the whole globe with unquestionable evidence that they have their origin in the realms of space.

It is claimed by meteorologists that the fall of aërolites is known to have occurred previous to the creation of man, although the most ancient falls, determined with chronological accuracy, are those registered by the Chinese as having occurred in the time of Tyrtænus and the second Méssenian War of the Spartans, 179 years before the fall of the celebrated Ægos Potamos, and 644 years before our era. Sixteen falls of aërolites are preserved among the annals of the Chinese between the middle of the seventh century before Christ up to 333 years after his advent, while the Greeks and Romans have noticed only four during the same period.

For more than two thousand years all nations have recorded their observance of the fall of meteoric stones. Instances are given of persons who have been struck dead by them, including a monk at Crema, one at Milan, and two Swedish sailors who were crushed on shipboard. While the larger masses have been preserved as public curiosities, to which meteoric enthusiasts perform their literary pilgrimages, smaller fragments are

exhibited in cabinets and by scientific lecturers, including a perfect aërolite of Liliputian dimensions, considered by its happy possessor to be more valuable than a diamond of the same magnitude.

The crust or rind of the aërolite possesses characteristics peculiar to itself, being glossy, pitch-like, occasionally veined, and of extreme thinness. Pliny observed the peculiar color of this crust, since in describing it he uses the term "*colore adusto.*" The most powerful heat of porcelain ovens produces nothing similar to this crust of meteoric stones. Only in one instance has it ever been found wanting—that of Chautonnay.

In general these masses have shown neither fusion, compression by descent, nor any considerable degree of heat, although some few have been too hot to be handled, and others have been more easily broken the first than at any subsequent day. These stones differ materially in their specific gravity. The carbonaceous stone of Alais showed a specific gravity of only 1.94, while others have amounted to 4.28.

The metals which are known to enter into their composition are: tin, discovered by Berzelius; nickel, by Howard; copper and chromium by Langier, and cobalt by Stromeyer. Mr. Gleig, of England, has discovered lead in a mass of meteoric iron from Tarapoca, Chili. The mineral and simple substances found in aërolites combine to form mineral compounds, most of which are familiar in terrestrial rocks, one alone being peculiar to aërolites. This compound is known by the name of schreibersite, and is phosphuret of iron and nickel, occurring in small particles and flakes throughout the mass, and resembles magnetic iron pyrites so closely that it is readily taken for it. It is of a yellowish-white color—hardness 6, specific gravity 7.017. Schreibersite possesses magnetic properties, and may acquire polarity. It may be separated, both chemically and mechanically, from the meteoric iron, hydrochloric acid taking up the iron and leaving the insoluble portion. Very many of the aërolites must have fallen into the seas and oceans, and been buried for ever from our observation. Those that have fallen upon the land have not unfrequently presented the singular phenomenon of penetrating the earth to a depth very inconsiderable, when considered in regard to the height from and the velocity with which they have fallen. The mass which in November, 1492, fell in Ensisheim, weighing 276 pounds, was found to have penetrated only three feet; and the aërolite of Braunau, July 14th, 1847, about the same; but those of Castrovillari, in the Abruzzi, penetrated six feet, and that of Stradsehina, in the Agram district, eighteen.

It would seem incredible that with all the definite informa-

tion with which we have been furnished by men of the profoundest research and most unbiased judgment, there should still be found intelligent persons who question the cosmical origin of these interesting visitants. Much, doubtless, remains to be developed, and there will always arise some master intellects to guide us in our investigations after truth, as well as others less enviable who can only scoff at that to which they have not the capacity to attain.

There is one consideration which, more than all others, attracts us towards this most fascinating study of aërolites. Here alone we are placed in actual contact with a tangible object which has revolved without our atmosphere, and been hurled down from the mysterious realms of space, still warm with its celestial origin. Mute and stone-like, it is still the mystic key to volumes of pleasing conjecture, since we find hidden within its heart's core the hieroglyphics which establish our affinity with the globe, from which it has been sundered, in the metals and simple substances which enter so materially into the construction of our own planet.

ART. VI.—1. *A System of Phrenology.* By GEORGE COMBE. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860.

Phrenological Journal. New York: Fowler & Wells.

Sur les Fonctions du Cerveau et sur celles de chacune de ses parties. Par F. J. GALL. 6 vols., 8vo. Paris. 1822–1825.

2. *Lettre de Charles Villers à Georges Cuvier, sur une Nouvelle Théorie du Cerveau.* Par le Docteur GALL. Metz. 1802. 8vo.

3. *Anatomie et Physiologie du Système Nerveux en général et du Cerveau en particulier, &c.* Par F. J. GALL et G. SPURZHEIM. 4 vols., 4to., with Atlas in folio. Paris. 1810–1819.

4. *Observations sur la Phrénologie, ou la Connoissance de l'Homme Moral et Intellectuel, fondée sur les Fonctions du Système Nerveux.* Par G. SPURZHEIM, M.D. 8vo. Paris. 1818.

THAT falsehood lies at the surface, is as much a fact as that truth lies at the bottom of a well. But the tendency of the latter is to rise, while that of the former is to sink; in other words, it is the difference between the shadow and the substance, or that between pure, unalloyed gold and its spurious imitation. Let us give the counterfeit what name we may, it will not be denied by any one whose testimony is worth having, that it is often mistaken, even by men of a high degree of intelligence, for the genuine article. And what one deliber-

ately accepts as truth, he does not easily reject as error. This will account for all that has been said and written in favor of phrenology considered as a science.

But we wish to disclaim at the outset all intention of imputing to such men as Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe any desire to propagate falsehood or error, knowing it to be such. On the contrary, we cheerfully give each the credit of having honestly believed what they have taken such laborious pains to teach; although the most eminent critics of their time—those who knew them best, denounced them as quacks and charlatans. Thus nearly fifty years ago (1815) the demonstrator of anatomy in the best of the Scottish universities wrote in the *Edinburgh Review* as follows: "We look upon the whole doctrines taught by these two modern peripatetics, (Gall and Spurzheim,) anatomical, physiological, and physiognomical, as a piece of *thorough quackery* from beginning to end; and we are persuaded that every intelligent person who takes the trouble to read a single chapter of the volumes before us, will view them precisely in the same light." The critic then proceeds to show how much more easy it is to find dupes in some communities than in others, although no community is without a certain number of that good-natured class. "How many disciples," says the reviewer, "Dr. Spurzheim may have already collected *from this class* in England by his English book, or his lectures in the metropolis, we do not feel very anxious to inquire; because we are quite certain we should find that *they are more than ten times the number he has seduced from the same proportion of persons in any other nation of Europe.* Great Britain is a field for quacks to fatten in; they flock to it from all quarters of the world; and England is the sweetest corner of the pasture. Well has the learned and most witty historian of Mrs. John Bull's indisposition remarked, 'There is nothing so impossible in nature, but mountebanks will undertake; nothing so incredible but they will affirm!' As truly might he have added that there is nothing mountebanks can undertake, which John Bull will not think possible; nothing they can affirm which he will not believe."*

* We think it will be generally admitted that there is not a word of the above passage in regard to England as a patroness of quacks, but is at least equally applicable to this country. If fifty years ago the quacks flocked to England "from all quarters of the world," at the present day, the country to which they flock, above all others, is the United States. Still, indeed, they do a large business in England—ten times as much as they do in any other country in Europe; but it is no exaggeration to say that they do ten times as much in the United States, in proportion to the population, as they do in England. It is well known that many who have failed to secure any standing in the latter country, even among the most illiterate and gullible class, have been quite successful in the former. In all our large cities, but especially in New York, the quacks "fatten." None make so

The review from which this extract is taken concludes as follows: "We must needs indulge ourselves with a summary paragraph, too. The writings of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim have not added one fact to the stock of our knowledge respecting either the structure or the functions of man, but consist of such a mixture of gross errors, extravagant absurdities, *downright misstatements*, and unmeaning quotations from Scripture, as can leave no doubt, we apprehend, in the minds of honest and intelligent men, as to the real ignorance, the real *hypocrisy*, and the real *empiricism* of the authors."* We might fill pages with opinions of this kind—those of the most learned and distinguished men whom Europe has produced, including Cuvier, Geoffry St. Hilaire, Flourens, and Arago; but we will confine ourselves to one which may be said to embody the essence of all the rest—namely, that of Professor Wilson, (Christopher North,) which runs thus: "We have already said that, in our opinion, fool and phrenologist are terms as nearly synonymous as can be found in any language."†

Nearly half a century has passed since these opinions were expressed, and their general truthfulness has never been disputed by those best competent to criticise them. It is more than sixty years since Dr. Gall published his first book on phrenology; but it is still unrecognized as a science, except by a class whose numbers, never large, have diminished rather than in-

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pompous a display at our Central Park, or are so scrupulous in regard to the livery of their coachmen. Those who were horse-doctors, or no doctors at all on the Rhine, the Rhone, the Severn, or the Shannon, become infallible all at once on coming to this country, even in the treatment of the eye and ear.

In order to secure the faith of the credulous, they commence operations by publishing letters from the spirit-world, from imaginary persons, or from persons paid for their good opinions; bearing testimony to wonderful cures of diseases that had failed all others who had attempted their treatment. Sometimes the parties who adopt this *modus operandi* employ some literary hack to get up a book for them, on what they call their profession. As might be expected, the "work" thus got up to order has not even the negative merit of grammatical correctness in its language; although full of ignorance and charlatanism as it is, Mr. Quack, its nominal author, could no more have written it than a man of ordinary talents and good education could have written the Iliad. Of course the "treatise" is duly praised at the rate of about twenty-five cents a line; and "the opinions of the press," thus obtained, are advertised as the testimony of disinterested critics!

Another party form themselves into a triumvirate, and call the rooms where they *take in* their dupes in more than one sense, a "Medical Institute," announcing themselves as "the faculty" thereof, and promising to cure all manner of diseases —"many permanently in one day!!!—others in a few treatments." If the dupes of these charlatans complain of being swindled, they receive abusive and threatening letters for their pains.

A third class try to render themselves famous by hiring penny-a-liners to write letters in their name to the newspapers, purporting to describe the various symptoms and other phenomena of the diseases, which they alone, above all living physicians, have the skill and learning to cure. As of course no intelligent editor would publish such performances for any literary or scientific merit which they might be supposed to possess, they have to be paid for as advertisements, the object of the quack being to impress the thoughtless and ignorant with an adequate idea of his wonderful knowledge and skill.

* *Ib.*, p. 268. † *Blackwood's Mag.*, vol. 13, p. 100.

creased in the lapse of time. Nor can it be alleged that its claims have not been examined; for the most eminent physicians and naturalists of the nineteenth century have evinced every disposition to do full justice to whatever merit they might find it to possess; so that of no other theory or system can it be more truly said, that it has been weighed in the balances and found wanting.

We are well aware that the champions of phrenology pretend the contrary. They would have the world believe that it has never had a fair trial, but that it has always been assailed by prejudice and bigotry, and that it has been condemned only by persons incapable of comprehending its sublime truths. Many who are indifferent to phrenology think this is true; for there is no misrepresentation so gross or absurd but that it will be believed by a certain class, when often repeated.

But let us see what are the real facts. Before ever a word was written against Dr. Gall, in England or Scotland, his pretensions were ridiculed and condemned in turn by the most learned of his own countrymen. When he was silenced by this means, both at Vienna and Berlin, so that he saw no prospect of being able to turn his so-called discovery to any account, he pretended that he was persecuted by the Austrian government, knowing that this would secure him sympathy both in France and England.

In the mean time he had secured at least one disciple. Dr. Spurzheim not only embraced his doctrines with avidity, but also agreed to accompany him in his proselyting tour. The two doctors started together from Kirche in 1805, and their first care was to visit some thirty towns of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, doing all in their power in each, by conversation, lectures, or articles in the local journals, according as one means or another seemed most suitable or convenient, to make converts, but with exceedingly little success. In almost every instance they were kindly received and well treated by physicians and naturalists—indeed, by all scholars—especially psychologists and metaphysicians; but their system of craniology, cranioscopy, or bumps, (for it received each of these names in turn,) received but little countenance.

At last the itinerant doctors arrived at Paris. The Institute was then in its glory. The chief of the anatomical department was no less distinguished a *savant* than Cuvier the naturalist, who had already rendered himself famous throughout Europe by his *Tableau Elémentaire de l'Histoire Naturelle des Animaux*, and his *Leçons d'Anatomie Comparée*. Cuvier was not the less polite to the German doctors because he was everywhere recognized as the greatest of living zoologists. It was

to him they applied for an introduction to the Institute; and he acceded at once to their request. On their desiring to be examined before that learned body, he requested them to dissect a brain privately for him and a few of his anatomical friends. He also attended a course of lectures given by them in a similar manner, and with the same view. Had the success of scientific truth, as a means of elevating the condition of the human race, depended on the dissections and lectures of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, the great naturalist and demonstrator of anatomy to the Institute could not have bestowed more attention on their efforts. In short, he fully examined all their claims, aided by the most learned of his colleagues, but the result was adverse to their pretensions. Cuvier would not put them off, however, with his own private opinion. Through his influence, a commission was named by the Institute, to report on the labors of Gall and Spurzheim. The report was drawn up by Cuvier. However polite and friendly the *savant* was to the doctors as a private individual, when he came to pass a judgment on their pretensions, which all Europe was anxious to hear because it had confidence in the judge, he showed that there was really nothing of any importance in their system which had not been known to the medical faculty long before they were born. In a word, Cuvier considered the bump system as no system, and excused the Institute for having taken it into consideration at all. The sentence was passed in the politest terms, but it was nevertheless one of condemnation.*

The doctors and their disciples felt the full weight of this blow, and they did all in their power to counterbalance its effects. With this view, they made the same charge against the French Academy which they had previously made against the learned bodies of their own country; that is, they accused the commission of which Cuvier was the head of having been influenced by the authorities. They affected to believe that the members of the commission would at once have recommended the new system as one of the greatest discoveries ever made, had they not been afraid of Napoleon. The First Consul, they pretended, could not think of permitting the Institute to confer such an honor on Germans. This excuse was intended to do good, not in France or Germany, but in England; and it succeeded, too, to a considerable extent, although only a few months had elapsed since the same learned body had applied for permission to award the prize medal to Sir Humphrey Davy for his admirable galvanic experiments. Since Napoleon did

* The report may be seen in the edition of Cuvier's Complete Works, published at Paris in 1832.

not refuse his consent in the case of the subject of a power with which he was constantly at war, it was not likely that he would do so in the case of the German doctors, to whose government he was as indifferent as he was to themselves and their craniology. They made the most of the charge, however. In an elaborate answer (*réponse*) which they got up soon after, but which was intended for England, not for France, they made several accusations against the commissioners, the most serious of which was, that they did not repeat their experiments, as they should have done. That is, because, being satisfied from one series of experiments that the bump system was a humbug, they declined a second, it must follow that they were prevented by Napoleon from conferring so much honor on two obscure German doctors as to recognize them as the discoverers of the great science of phrenology! Puerile and paltry as the excuse was, it had considerable effect in England and Scotland, especially in the latter country. But the extracts given at the beginning of our article show what class of persons were so easily imposed upon.

The discomfited doctors would have crossed the English Channel immediately, but all intercourse between the two nations had ceased, and it was not deemed worth while by the authorities on either side to fit out a special expedition with a flag of truce for the accommodation and benefit of persons whose chief object was supposed to be to turn their pretended discoveries to some account in the way of money and fame. Feeling satisfied that they had no business home, at all events, where they were best known, they resolved to try another experiment with the Parisians. With this view, they got up a series of public lectures; and in order to add as much as possible to the attractions of these, they collected as large a variety of skulls as they could get for love or money, taking care to label a considerable proportion of them with the names of persons who had rendered themselves famous or infamous, it mattered little which. The Parisians attended in large numbers to witness the performances of those who, as they supposed, could tell their fortunes by their heads, as well as Mademoiselle la Nomande could with a pack of cards; nor could any fortune-teller, even of the Gipsy tribe, have promised much more than the learned doctors themselves. Accordingly they filled their purses handsomely, but made few, scarcely any, converts. However, as long as they got a reasonable amount of money they were philosophical enough to wait in hope for disciples. Thus did they continue to lecture, describe characters, &c., at convenient intervals, until they were prohibited as mounte-

banks by the French government, as they had previously been by the government of their own country.

In England nothing of this kind was to be apprehended. There, as well as with ourselves, quacks of all kinds enjoy the fullest liberty—a fact which, in our opinion, sufficiently accounts for the manner in which the fraternity *flock* to Great Britain, and *fatten* in it, as described by the *Edinburgh Review*, without attributing any peculiar tendency to gullibility to the Anglo-Saxon race. Perhaps if mountebanks were allowed the same liberty in France and Germany which they enjoy in England and in this country, they would multiply and fatten in the two former as they do in the two latter. But whether we or our English cousins are the better or the worse for allowing this liberty, if liberty it may be called, and not license—whether we suffer more or less in body and mind by it than the French and Germans do from being denied the privilege of patronizing quacks—is another question—one best answered by the statistics of our insane asylums and graveyards.

Be this as it may, the itinerant philosophers were glad to visit England as soon as the communication with that country from France was open, and they were received with that hospitality with which the British nation is ever ready to welcome, especially those who can make any pretensions to be victims of persecution on the part of a rival nation. All classes were ready to hear what the German doctors had to say in proof of their alleged discoveries; but they preferred to read their arguments at home, in tracts and pamphlets, rather than wait personally on the authors. At this time the chief part of the work devolved on Dr. Spurzheim, his colleague having been seized with a fit of illness. The former laid his plans ingeniously for making proselytes in England; he opened the campaign by a dissection of a brain before the Medico-Chirurgical Society in Lincoln's Inn Fields, his object being to create the impression that his appeal was to the learned and scientific—not to the illiterate and credulous. A considerable number of the faculty attended—almost all in the metropolis who had attained to any eminence—but they proved to be by no means so easily convinced as Gall and Spurzheim had supposed. They used both eyes and ears attentively and patiently, but when called upon for their opinions not one of any influence was favorable. A course of lectures was then advertised, and duly delivered, but only to almost empty benches.

It would not suit Dr. Spurzheim to occupy his time thus unprofitably while his colleague was unwell; and accordingly he lost no time in leaving the metropolis for a tour through the

provinces. After having delivered lectures and "portrayed characters" at Bath, Bristol, Dublin, and Cork, with but very slender success, he proceeded to Scotland. In Edinburgh, as in London, he affected to make his first appeal to science; and the first scientific man to whom he applied was the author of the scathing criticism on his own writings and those of Gall, which had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for June, 1815. The critic received him courteously, and readily consented to be present at the dissection of a brain on phrenological principles. As he was himself a lecturer on comparative anatomy in the University, the dissection took place in his lecture-room, where all the students of anatomy were present, and as many of the other professors as took any interest in the investigation. But the critic remained unconvinced; so did his learned brethren, without exception. Dr. Spurzheim made a few converts, however, among the students—perhaps half a dozen in all, and twice that number among the lovers of novelty in the city, whose vanity was much greater than their learning, or intellectual ability. But even so small a number gave great encouragement to the doctor. He was wont to say to the Scotch, "You are slow, but sure; I must remain some time with you, and then I'll leave the fruit of my labors to ripen in your hands. This is the spot from which, as from a centre, the doctrines of phrenology shall spread over Britain." In this, if in nothing else, he showed considerable perception and sagacity. He saw that if there was a bump of credulity, it was much more strongly developed among the Scotch than among the English, Irish, or French; although it is but justice to the scientific and educated Scotch—those in the habit of thinking for themselves—to say that they were as wary—as little disposed as their French or English neighbors to accept the bump system as a science.

There was, however, one exception—we mean Mr. George Combe, the author of the volume which stands first at the head of this article, and which is undoubtedly the best and most complete work yet written on phrenology, containing, as it does, not only the author's own views, but the substance of all that is worth noticing in the works of Gall and Spurzheim. There are several editions of "Combe's Phrenology" which are very different from each other. That before us (the Harpers' edition for 1860) contains the latest improvements and additions by the author, including an Appendix, which embraces important documents, letters, &c. In order that the friends and admirers of phrenology may have the best facilities for combating our views, showing how absurd they are, and what a miserably small head we must necessarily

have, we will add, that the edition before us has the advantage of a copious alphabetical index, and is illustrated with one hundred engravings. Thus, in other words, if we misrepresent phrenology in maintaining that it is no science, but a chimerical theory that has been productive of incalculable mischief, and scarcely any good, we point out the materials by which we can be most effectually refuted. Mr. Combe is one of those good-natured individuals who will believe almost anything, if strongly urged by his friends. At the beginning he was as much opposed to phrenology as any person of equal intelligence; but his friend, Mr. Brownlee, invited him "to attend a private dissection of a recent brain, to be performed in his house by Dr. Spurzheim." This was quite enough. Mr. Combe went, saw, and believed. All of a sudden he was astonished at the beauty, truth, and philosophy of phrenology; his only wonder was, that the very first suggestion he received on the subject had not made him a convert; and he could only pity that obliquity of vision that prevented the learned in general, including Cuvier and the anatomical critic of the *Edinburgh Review*, from becoming converts to the same sublime science. Dr. Spurzheim might leave Edinburgh now as soon as he thought proper, feeling confident that the cause would be well attended to in his absence; and he left accordingly for Paris. On the 22d of February, 1820, was formed the great Phrenological Society of Edinburgh, which was to revolutionize the world, converting at least all Christendom to the bump system. Soon after the *Phrenological Journal* was started; but both ceased to exist long since, and there are fewer phrenologists in Scotland to-day than there were forty-three years ago.

Now before we attempt to show that what failed luminaries like Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe, was not likely to be accomplished by their small satellites in other countries, including our own, we will glance at the account which the original inventor, or discoverer, gives of the manner in which he was led to regard phrenology as the great science destined to cast all others into the shade.

"In the ninth year of my age," says Dr. Gall, "my parents sent me to one of my uncles, who was a clergyman in the Black Forest, and who, in order to inspire me with emulation, gave me a companion in my studies. I was, however, frequently reproached for not learning my lesson as well as he did, particularly as more was expected from me than from him. From my uncle, we were both put to school at Baden, near Rastadt, and there, whenever our task was to learn by heart, I was always surpassed by boys who in their other exercises were much my inferiors. As every one of those who were remarkable for this had large and prominent eyes, we gave them the

name of *ox-eyed*. Three years after this we went to school at Bruchsal, and there again the ox-eyed scholars mortified me as before. Two years later I went to Strasburgh, and still found that, however moderate their abilities in other respects, the pupils with prominent eyes all learnt by heart with great ease."

It was not alone among men our philosopher observed those differences—differences which, of course, had never been observed by anybody else before his time. By extending his researches, he soon made the discovery that the lower animals differ from each other in a somewhat similar manner. "I observed," he says, "a proportionate difference in the disposition of animals. Some dogs are born hunters, while others of the same litter cannot be taught; some are peaceful, some ill-tempered. In birds there is a similar diversity." Had it not been for his discovery, all this would have been utterly unaccountable; but that made the whole affair perfectly simple. If one hog ate chickens and other forbidden things, while another ate nothing but potatoes and other vegetables, it was only because the twain had bumps of a different kind. If one dog barked and bit, while another was as mild as a lamb, or if one hunted the hare and caught him, while another would only hunt rats or mice, it was only for a similar reason. If a man murders or robs his neighbor, or runs away with his wife, it is not because his education has been neglected—because bad instead of good sentiments have been instilled into his mind, or because he has been in the habit of keeping bad company, whose example has corrupted his mind. Nothing of the kind. In order to determine the real cause, we have only to run our fingers over his head, if he will let us, and the whole secret is revealed. In most cases, Spurzheim acts as the mouth-piece or spokesman of Gall, especially in giving illustrations. We extract a few brief specimens of the latter kind. Our authors desire to prove that everything of any importance that has been done can be accounted for on phrenological principles, and by no other means, as in the following instance:

"A hunting dog, when he was hindered from taking a good place near the fire, from his companions occupying every surrounding place, went out into the yard and barked; immediately other dogs did the same; and then he ran in and took the best place near the fire. Though he often deceived his companions, none of them was capable of imitating his stratagem. A little dog, when he was eating with several large dogs, behaved himself in the same manner, in order to secure his portion, or to catch some good bits. Such genius *is not the result of instruction.*"*

Another dog story is told by Spurzheim as follows, to prove the existence of the bump of destructiveness.

* *Gall and Spurzheim.* p. 461.

"Gall had a little dog which had this propensity in so high a degree, that he would sometimes watch several hours for a mouse; and as soon as it was killed he left it. Notwithstanding repeated punishment, he had also an irresistible propensity to kill birds."—*Spurzheim*, p. 305.

Is it any wonder that Cuvier and other anatomists and naturalists of less note were disgusted with a system that had to depend on arguments like these?* But let us see whether those deemed the most important and convincing are much better: we mean those founded on the phrenological appearance and character of criminals. Dr. Gall tells us, that when he visited the prison of Berlin, in 1805, he astonished all the officers of the establishment by the wonderful accuracy with which he described the characters of the inmates, from an examination of their bumps. Entering one department, he immediately pointed out an extraordinary development in the region of the head, where the organ of theft is situated; of course he was not in the least surprised to find, on inquiry, that every prisoner was a thief. Entering another room where all were women, he distinguished one from all the rest, although her dress and occupation were like those of the rest, and asked "For what reason is this woman here, for her head announces no propensity to theft?" The answer was, "She is the inspectress of the room." Turning to another prisoner in a miscellaneous department, he found the organs of cunning and firmness fully developed. From this he inferred at once that something very serious had happened; accordingly he found, on inquiry, that the bumps mentioned had enabled the possessor to elude conviction when tried for the murder of his wife!

It seems incredible that a man claiming to be scientific and to be the discoverer of a science destined to revolutionize the world, would put forth such silly arguments as proofs of the truth of his system; yet they are by no means the most absurd

* But no phrenologists argue better, or perhaps as well. M. Villers, in his *Letter* to Cuvier, adopts the same logic. "About the middle of the squamous suture," he says, "directly above the meatus auditorius externus, is the organ of cunning. There is here a very considerable prominence in the head of the cat, and of the fox. It is remarkable, too, in knaves of every kind, and in all who are very expert in discovering their own interest. Those good souls that suffer themselves to be easily led, in short, all such in this lower world of ours as belong to the honorable company of the dupes, have in this part of the skull a very sensible hollow. Such heads in a revolution are not worth a single farthing; and on that account they are cut off by hundreds.

"Gall thinks that when this projection stretches forward, so as to come more closely on the front part of the head, it becomes the organ of inclination to theft. He has remarked it in many practised robbers, and in several persons who felt a secret inclination to steal without being in want of anything, and without any evil intention to the individual. In ravens and magpies it is strongly prominent; and he has remarked it in some dogs that refused constantly any food which was offered to them, and lived only on what they found means to steal. Very useful information this for the cautious masters of a family, in the choice of their domestics, and for M. de Barbé-Marbois, when he has next to appoint a clerk of the treasury."

specimens we could adduce. It may be perfectly true that Dr. Gall was able to tell who were the thieves, who the murderers, &c., at the prison of Berlin. But there were other means besides phrenology by which he could have acquired that knowledge; in fact, it was said at the time by those of his own countrymen who had the best opportunity of knowing, that before he had visited the prison at all, he was fully instructed as to the character of every department. Be this as it may, he was much more cautious when he visited France and England; although while in the latter country, after he had had time enough to make the necessary inquiries, he pretended to make several discoveries similar to those at Berlin. He did not succeed very well, however; but his most important theories were refuted. In proof of the latter fact, we need only refer to the numerous and careful experiments made by Mr. Stone, President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, the result of which he published in a pamphlet, convicting the phrenologists of having

"pretended to establish a system of philosophy founded exclusively on facts, and yet never had recourse to any fair or candid *experimentum crucis* by which the truth or falsehood of their primary propositions might be determined, they have adduced only *ex parte* evidence, and this, on their own showing, is of the most unsatisfactory kind, inasmuch as they have never established any STANDARD by which the proportions of the alleged organs can be determined; they have termed their organs "*moderate*," "*full*," "large," "rather large," &c., and these terms, to the present day, have been used without any rule or definite principle by which the application of them can be regulated; they, with an inconsistency, and yet a gravity, worthy of Hudibras, in his metaphysical disquisition, persist in seriously maintaining a science of *proportions* without a *scale* of measurement; they wander over the country preaching their doctrines *ex cathedra*, as though they had really a foundation in truth; whilst it is a notorious fact, of which they must themselves be aware, that there is not an eminent man of science in Europe who has become a convert to them; they profess to maintain, at all times, the principles of free and manly discussion; and for this purpose have founded a society in this city, for the admission of believers, and do not allow any stranger who may visit it to express an opinion; they profess that their doctrines are as well established, and as palpable to every inquirer, as the most demonstrable truths in nature, yet do not agree among themselves on the most preliminary points. Dr. Gall ridiculed the bumps of Dr. Spurzheim; Dr. Spurzheim rejects with disdain the callipers of Mr. Combe; and Mr. Combe has been lately engaged in an open phrenological warfare with one of the most intelligent of his contemporaries, on the subject of what is even the necessary result or tendency of their faith; they give an organ one function to-day, another to-morrow; they maintain that a large organ of veneration is at one time the characteristic configuration of the head of a saint; at another, equally essential to that of the most notorious and professed infidel! Lastly come the interminable combinations of their imaginary organs; and thus the

phrenologists shift from argument to argument, from position to position, resembling the ghosts in Virgil's Inferno:

"Huc illuc volitant, nec certa in sede morantur."

None, save phrenologists, who have paid any attention to the subject, will contradict one remark in the above extract. But Mr. Stone does not confine himself to general observations, however striking and undeniable those observations are; he enters fully into particulars, and confutes the phrenologists by their own arguments. All are aware of the importance which they attach to the phrenological casts of executed criminals. This pretension, too, has been fully tested by the learned President of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh, who makes the following report:

"When the criminal, having been executed, is cut down, the body is thrown generally upon its back, and the blood, which in cases of death by lightning, drowning, hanging, &c., remains uncoagulated, *gravitates to the most depending parts of the person; a considerable distension of the muscles of the back, neck, and posterior parts of the head,* is thus produced; and over this distension the cast is usually taken. The organs of the alleged animal propensities are in consequence *made to appear* very large, whilst those to which the intellectual faculties and moral sentiments are ascribed, for the same reason, and, from the contrast, present as remarkable an appearance of deficiency."

Wishing to have the opinions of other distinguished men on the same subject, Mr. Stone consulted several; and, without a single exception, the views of all were adverse to the pretensions of the phrenologists. It will be sufficient for our purpose to quote the opinion of Sir William Hamilton, one of the most distinguished metaphysicians of modern times. Writing on the subject to Mr. Stone, in reply to some queries proposed to him by that gentleman, he states, that "Taking the skulls of *all* the murderers preserved in the different museums of the University of Edinburgh, amounting to above a dozen, as constituting at once a *large* and an *unselected* series, I have ascertained that, whether compared with any general average, or with the heads of individuals remarkable for their moral and intellectual virtues, *there was nothing to warrant the doctrine of the phrenologists that such criminals are distinguished from other persons by any excess of the pretended organs of Destructiveness, and of those of the animal propensities in general, or by any deficiency in those dimensions which express the phrenological development of the intellectual and moral powers.*"

But the President of the Medical Society is not satisfied even with testimony like this. He takes the crania of eighteen murderers and compares them with two extensive series of other crania, and proves beyond dispute that the heads of such crim-

inals are not characterized by any superior development in the region of Destructiveness; on the contrary, he finds that the part of the cranium to which phrenologists refer the moral sentiments is frequently more highly and better developed in the crania of murderers than in crania in general. He gives various instances of noted criminals in proof of this—among the rest, Burke, and his equally infamous accomplice, Hare. The crimes of these two persons, or rather fiends, are too notorious to need mention here; but it was found, on careful examination, that the cerebellum of Burke was below the average. Measurement alone was not depended on in ascertaining this fact; its weight, too, was compared to that of the cerebella of forty-four subjects, male and female, adult and impuberal. Lest all this might not be sufficient to convict the phrenologists of false pretences, the same investigator also examined the cerebellic cavities in Burke's cranium, comparing them with the same in fifty-one crania, including thirty-three adult male, thirty-two adult female, and six impuberal female. The effect of these experiments on the operations of Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe, when the results were published, was apparent at once; for the more intelligent of their disciples dropped off in scores. The doctors had to change their plans accordingly. Hitherto they depended chiefly on the size of particular organs; now they affected to depend more on the size and form of the head as a whole. Formerly they wrote as follows:

"There is, indeed, throughout all nature a general law that the properties of bodies act with an energy proportionate to their size. Thus, a large loadstone attracts a greater mass of iron than a small one of a similar kind. The fermentation of the same fluid is more energetic, if its quantity be more considerable; and a great muscle of the same kind is stronger than a small one. *If the nerves of the five external be larger on one side of the body, the functions also are stronger on that side. Why should it not be the same in respect to the brain?*"—*Gall and Spurzheim*, 215.

Such experiments and expositions as those referred to, forced them to modify their system, so far as to say that the strength of any faculty depended more on the activity than on the size of its organ; but they still maintained that the bumps were a true index to the intellectual and moral character. This branch of the subject, too, was taken up by one well calculated to treat it—we mean Dr. Milligan, one of the most distinguished anatomists of his time, who, in the Appendix to Majendie's Physiology, is thus explicit and decided:

"The inner or vitreous table performs uniformly one office; it closely follows and embraces the figure of the brain, receiving the impression of every convolution, and penetrating into every fissure with

as much exactness, though not quite so deeply, as the membranes themselves. Meanwhile, the *external table* is no more a mere organ of defence than the muscles which cover it; it is an organ of *coaptation* or *articulation*, and accordingly is found to be impressed, elevated, and configurated entirely, according to the necessities of this adaptation. Hence that line of it which corresponds to the transverse suture of the face is exactly adapted to the bones of the opposite margin of this suture, being thick where they are thick, thin where they are thin, serrated where they are serrated, and harmonic where they assume this appearance. *It exhibits no relation to the internal table*, till being again turned inwards along the roof of the orbit, it reapproaches and coincides with it to form the thin edge, which, like another squamous portion, is to ride upon the alae minores of the sphenoid bone. *The external table, then, of the frontal bone is in reality a bone of the face.* Hence its development, or growth, depends entirely on the growth of the bones of the face; for it has never been seen narrower or broader than the distance from the external orbitar process of one malar bone to the other, nor placed so close to the internal table and crista galli; that is, was overlapped by the bones of the nose, or by the superior maxillary and malar bones. It follows, then, from what is said above, that the development of the internal table, and consequently of the frontal bone, follows the development of the brain; *but the development of the external table of the frontal bone follows the development of the bones of the face.* Now the brain, we have seen, arrives at its full size in the seventh year, which, therefore, is the period for completing the development of the internal table of the frontal bone; but the bones of the face continue growing to the twenty-first year, and hence anatomists find the dimensions of the frontal sinus go on increasing to that year; and the same authors generally find the sinus commence at the seventh year, because that is the time at which the nutritious arteries cease to do more than support its vitality."—P. 566.

We think we need refer to no other authorities to show our readers that there is abundant reason why phrenology has failed to make any impression in England, and why the impression it made in Scotland was, after all, but feeble and transitory. At one time it seemed to have taken root in the latter country. It has already been remarked that the Scotch are not only fonder of novelties than their English neighbors, but also more credulous; if we add to these two facts the talents and zeal of Mr. Combe, there will be no reason for surprise at the foothold which the new "science" acquired in Scotland. But however strong this foothold seemed to be for a while, it has met with the fate of all efforts, however industrious and persistent, to invest error with the vitality of truth.

Now we come to inquire why has it taken such root in this country? or rather, why have so large a proportion of our people suffered themselves to be imposed upon by its teachers? True, it may be said of this country as well as of England, Scotland, France and Germany, that scarcely any of its scientific or learned men have become converts to phrenology. For

our own part, we do not know one worthy of either name that has. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, both classes have as little faith in phrenology as their European brethren. The former, like the latter, have recorded their verdict against it on all suitable occasions—indeed, in almost every instance in which its claims have been urged upon them. We remember several such verdicts, but it will be sufficient for our present purpose to notice one. We have now before us a Report* of the "Fourth Annual Meeting of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Institutions for the Insane," held at Utica in May, 1849, which gives an account of an interesting discussion on Phrenology, that took place at the afternoon session. Dr. Buttolph, of New Jersey, read a report on the relation of Phrenology to Insanity, which we are told in the pamphlet before us, "was very strong in its expressions, and indicated strong faith in phrenology; a faith which Dr. Bell proceeded to dissent from." There was not a single member of the Association who did not do the same. All were disposed to be as mild as possible in the expression of their dissent; none wished to be harsh in contradicting views in which the author of the paper had such implicit faith. For example, the most zealous Protestant gentleman would pause before he told an equally zealous and conscientious Catholic that purgatory and transubstantiation are false doctrines; and a Catholic gentleman would be equally cautious of wounding the feelings of the Protestant. It was equally reasonable that the doctors of the Medical Association should be polite to their phrenological brother. When this is borne in mind, it will be seen that the following remarks were sufficiently explicit:

"Dr. Bell had seen examinations made by able phrenologists, of patients under his care, and he had *never seen* a case where a person of ordinary acuteness might not have given *more accurate opinions.* He mentioned several cases of striking failures by Mr. Combe, and concluded by expressing a belief in the decision of Esquirol, based on the examination of one thousand skulls of eminent men, *that a knowledge of phrenology was of no use in forming an idea of the condition of the mind.*"

Dr. Bates said that he, "equally with Dr. Bell, had failed to satisfy himself of the practical utility of applying the principles of phrenology to the study of insanity. * * He suggested the importance of minute observation of the external condition of insane patients *as to temperature.*" That is, Dr. Bates thought that it was of greater importance to see how hot or how warm the head was, than to examine the size of its bumps.

"Dr. Ray agreed mainly with the opinions of the gentleman who

* See *American Journal of Insanity*, for July, 1849, Art. iii., p. 56, *et seq.*

had spoken. But while he was satisfied that *indirectly* the introduction of the study of phrenology, by giving more and clearer prominence to the science of mind, had been beneficial in the study of diseased manifestations, yet he was of opinion that directly it had done little service, *as no one could ascertain by cranial examinations the particular disease within.*"

The meaning of this is obvious enough. Dr. Ray, wishing to treat his phrenological friend as gently as possible, confined himself to the suggestion that if the study of phrenology had done any good, it was only by exciting an interest in the true science of the mind; the same as a man whom an *ignis fatuus* leads into the ditch feels so uncomfortable in his new position that he exerts himself to such a degree that he finds a shorter and surer way than he would have found had he not suffered from any illusion.

"Mr. Bates followed, in reference to the tendency of size of organs to predispose to disease. *He did not believe a large organ any more likely to become diseased than a small one.*

"The discussion was further continued by several gentlemen. The president gave a couple of amusing anecdotes, illustrating his views of the uncertainties of examinations.

"A negro whom he saw examined, on being asked his own opinion of the correctness of the decision, replied, 'It is hard to tell what meat is in the smoke-house by putting your hand on the roof.' The Dr. gave an incident which occurred at his own institution. A somewhat noted blind phrenologist came to make examinations. *The doctor at first caused himself to be presented as a violent patient, and the phrenologist pronounced him deficient in mental development.* Afterwards introducing himself in his true character, *he was examined, and the verdict was essentially different.*"

It is easy to understand that none are better qualified to form an opinion of the pretensions of phrenology than the medical faculty, and that none of the medical faculty are better qualified than those who have had experience in the treatment of a large number of insane patients. But the few brief quotations we have given show how much faith such have in the bump system. It is but justice to our scientific men that the truth should be thus told; so that they may not be held responsible, at home or abroad, for the progress phrenology has made in this country. We cannot regard them as altogether blameless, however, for they should put the unwary on their guard against the imposture and charlatanism of the bump system, as their European brethren have done.

It is not, however, on account of their remissness in this respect that we have at least twenty phrenologists in this country for every one in England, France, or even Scotland. In nine cases out of ten their denunciations would have failed to reach the class of persons in America who give the system all the

vitality which it possesses, since it is the class of least intelligence and least thought of all who read—in short, the class who patronize the astrologers, cup-tossers, card-readers, dream-interpreters, and other fortune-tellers of the most vulgar grades. We may seem by this to do injustice to our phrenologists; but let the reader bear in mind what they promise their dupes for half a dollar, a dollar, or five dollars, and say whether any of the gipsy sisterhood alluded to promise more. The pretensions of Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe were sufficiently reprehensible; but they were good and honorable compared to those of their satellites in this country. The former confined their researches to the crania and to the various organs which they pretended to have discovered in the brain; but the latter pretend to find a language equally eloquent and *flattering* in the nose, the cheek, the hair, the lip, the walk, the laugh, &c., &c. As we cannot expect those not aware of the "lower depth" to which the bump system has fallen in this country to believe what seems so incredible without some testimony, we copy an extract from the advertisement of those who regard themselves as the high-priests of phrenology on this continent:

"'NOSES'—*Their Significance.*—Roman, Grecian, Indian, Negro, Celestial, Aquiline, Turn-up and Pug Noses, with character of each. EYES, blue, black, or gray. LIPS, pale or red, prim or pouting, scolding or loving. MOUTH, large or small. HAIR, light, dark, coarse or fine, straight or curly. CHEEKS, thin, plump, pale, or colored. TEETH, regular or irregular. *Ears, large or small.* NECK, long or short. SKIN, rough or smooth. Illustrated with engravings. The walk, talk, laugh, and voice, *all indicate character.* We may know an honest face from a dishonest one; *we will show how.*"

Now we will place the advertisement of one of our female astrologers beside this, and let the reader decide for himself which has most quackery or imposture in it:

"ASTONISHING TO ALL!—Madame ———, seventh daughter, and born with a natural gift of foresight, to tell how soon and often you will marry, and all you wish to know, even your very thoughts, or no pay. Her magic image is now in full operation, and her equal is not to be found in the whole world. She gives lucky charms, and shows you a correct likeness of your present or future husband and absent friends without any charge. Fee only twenty-five cents; all hours until 8½ in the evening. Gentlemen not admitted."

It seems to us that the astrologer is more modest, if not more honest, than the phrenologists. They are very silly indeed who believe that the seventh daughter can tell how soon and often you will marry, with or without her "magic image;" but we leave it to any intelligent, sensible person to say whether they are more so than those who believe that the color of the hair, the form or size of the nose, the size or color of the

lip, the length of the neck, the roughness or smoothness of the skin, can indicate the disposition, or serve as an index to the faculties of the mind. Surely the parties who make such pretensions should give some such hint as "Gentlemen not admitted;" although they would make a much nearer approach to honesty were they to announce, "Neither ladies nor gentlemen admitted except their ears are at least an inch beyond the ordinary size." But probably it has been found, from experience, that such an announcement would be altogether superfluous; for although, as we have said, phrenology has had ten times more votaries in this country than anywhere else, there has been a great falling off within the last two or three years; almost as great a falling off as there has been among the spirit-rappers, who, it is well known, are birds of the same brood. We have evidence enough of this reaction; and we hail it as one of the best signs of the times—for it is one of the most convincing proofs that our schools and colleges are improving. Thus, education has made great progress within the last three or four years; and phrenology and kindred delusions have retrograded at a similar ratio. We have abundant proof of this, but it will be sufficient to refer to one or two facts. The Messrs. Fowler & Wells, of this city, have edited and published three periodicals devoted to phrenology, and its legitimate, or rather illegitimate, offspring; namely, the *Phrenological Quarterly*, *Life Illustrated*, and the *Phrenological Journal*, of which only the last mentioned now exists. Nor is it likely that the *Phrenological Journal*, judging from its sickly appearance, will long survive its defunct sisters. Did we regard it merely as a business enterprise, we should be sorry for this; not that we are under any compliment to the proprietors. Personally we know nothing of Mr. Fowler, or Mr. Wells; we should not know either if we met him in the street. We speak of their performances, therefore, as we have of those of Gall, Spurzheim, and Combe, without any personal feeling one way or other; but we must say that, in proportion to their talents, the former have done vastly more harm than the latter.

Gall, Spurzheim and Combe have confined themselves to phrenology *per se;* at least they have not sought to dilate on its most objectionable features, so as to pander to the grosser passions of our nature. We are sorry we cannot say the same of Mr. Fowler, whose books on "Amativeness," "Matrimony," "Marriage," are of the most indecent kind which we have ever been called upon to examine. We have often seen books much less immoral suppressed by the police. Fortunately their chief attraction consists in their grossness. A

certain class will read even such for a while, and the consequences are seen in what is called "Free Love," "Passional Attraction," &c. We are glad to know, therefore, that Mr. Fowler's books are no longer read; although if he wrote decent books—books inculcating virtue rather than pandering to vice, we should be the first to recommend them.

In short, the only one of the brood of monsters which phrenology has fostered, if, indeed, they are not solely its offspring, which still possesses any vitality, is the so-called water-cure system, of which also we mean to have something to say in a future article. As for the movement cure, those engaged in it are in sad need of cure themselves; for the most stupid of those who have had any dealings with them have discovered the cheat. But the water-cure still flourishes, not because it is found to be better than any other kind of treatment, for it is not, but the reverse. We have known ourselves more than one who have been "packed" to death by our water-doctors. We hold that water is a most excellent and wholesome thing; none have greater faith in ablutions, or in the moderate use of the bath, whether hot or cold. But when it comes to packing one up in a wet sheet or blanket several times a day, in winter and summer, and laying him aside for half an hour or so to soak, as if he were a turnip or a pumpkin, then we say that, although certain of his bumps may be decidedly enlarged by the process, the general results are not favorable. But our water-cure establishments are generally very attractive places. Most of them afford excellent opportunities for reducing to practice the "truths" of phrenology, especially "free love" and "passional attraction." It may be said that one packed up in a wet sheet two or three times a day, and fed only on vegetables, would have no great passion of any kind. We have often heard such an argument used in defence of those establishments. But be it remembered that the superintendents are very indulgent, accommodating gentlemen. Even wine, nay, much stronger drink, they will allow, as well as meat, for a consideration, and at the same time allow exemption from the wet sheet and blanket. But all this, too, will come to an end before very long; at least the giant will be reduced to a dwarf. Already the public begin to find out the true character of these institutions, and when the veil is once moved, the charm will be broken.

But to return, if only for a moment, to the *Phrenological Journal*. We have said that it has rather a consumptive appearance, although it is well printed, on good paper. We have procured three numbers, those for July, August, and September, the only copies we have seen in several years. It may

be that these are not fair specimens of the general character of the work; we hope not, for they are very poor indeed. It is not, however, their literary merits or demerits we mean to speak of; in this respect they are, perhaps, not inferior to other publications addressed to the same class. It is the charlatanism of the publication we find fault with; that silly puerility that would have its readers believe that everything must be done phrenologically, in order to be done right; and in order to prove the fact, they are treated in each number to a series of stale portraits, or rather caricatures, the bumps of which are enlarged or diminished, according as required. Some phrenological characters are given in the usual style of the prophets of the past; characters which seem to us to differ very little, if at all, from those of the fortune-tellers already alluded to.

It is well known that none boast more of being "progressive" than the phrenologists; were we to take their own word for it, we should regard them as the advance-guard of civilization. But almost every article we find in the numbers before us would lead us back to the habits and practices of the dark ages. Thus, for example, among the first articles we meet with is one recommending flogging. It is headed "Shall we flog our children?" This purports to have been written *ex more* in reply to letters from numerous parents, who, of course, are aware that nothing which can be known here below is hidden from such accomplished phrenologists as the Messrs. Fowler & Wells. Nor is it about their naughty sons those parents write, but about their naughty daughters; for we are furnished with two specimens. We subjoin an extract from the first, which it will be seen is silly enough, whether we regard it as genuine, or got up for the occasion, which is far more likely.

"MESSRS. FOWLER & WELLS—Having recently become a reader of the *Phrenological Journal*, I take the liberty of asking advice as to the proper management of my child, a daughter, now three years old. She is, and always has been, very forward in learning to talk, walk, and act in every way. She is very robust and strong, weighs forty-one pounds—full of life and mischief or fun. Now, my complaint about her is, that she is almost perfectly reckless—climbing, jumping, and placing herself generally in dangerous positions, causing constant anxiety on the part of her parents; there is a total lack of obedience, which is a great source of trial."

Letter number two is in the same strain; as if the two parents had compared notes before they made the "appeal to us (F. and W.) and the science of phrenology." The oracle replies as follows:

"Our correspondents *are right in supposing that phrenology is able to solve all such mental and moral problems;* but it must be applied understandingly to individual cases. We cannot give precise rules for

the government of a particular child, *unless* we know precisely what that child's *organization is*, as all are not to be treated exactly alike. There are certain general rules, however, deducible from phrenological science, and these it is our purpose to lay down at some length in our next number. In the mean time, we can only say in brief, that in our opinion phrenology does *not prohibit the use of the rod:* but, *on the contrary*, teaches that it is proper and *necessary* at times *to appeal to Cautiousness* through the fear of physical pain." * *—*Phrenological Jour. for August*, 1863, *p.* 52.

This needs no comment. We now turn to the rules promised for next number, which all respectable parents are to regard as the quintessence of wisdom and infallibility. But let us hear the oracle:

"In discussing the question—'Shall we flog our children?' we must consider them *in the light of phrenology. What are their developments? What classes of organs predominate?* In short, what are their dispositions?

"Without taking sides, *pro* or *con*, on the question of the 'total depravity' of man, we may safely say that there is enough moral corruption—a sufficiently marked tendency to evil—to justify the position we have taken, that corporal chastisement is sometimes beneficial and necessary."

What all good parents have to do is to examine the bumps of their children, or rather to have them examined by Mr. Fowler or Mr. Wells, and apply the rod, or spare it accordingly; that is, the urchins should be flogged on phrenological principles. Further on, in the same article, the fact is proved after the following fashion:

"And these *propensities—Appetite, Destructiveness, Combativeness*, and *Secretiveness—which give violence of disposition, temper*, and *perverseness*, are in many children 'rampant,' and seek gratification in a thousand mischievous ways. Children will pilfer, tell lies, fight, scratch, and bite, and, when older, the boys rob hen-roosts, fish-ponds, gardens, corn-fields, melon-patches, and fruit-orchards. Nothing is safe within their reach. If these things do not indicate 'depravity' enough to make our case good, we have but to refer to the terrible deeds of the howling, cursing, infuriate rioters of our city, and to the mobs of the Old World, for further proofs."—*Phren. Jour. for Sept.*, 1863, *p.* 84.

If a mother finds the bump of destructiveness largely developed in her son, she must be sure to strike him on all suitable occasions. Probably the best way would be to raise another bump near the "rampant" one, by the application of the knuckles, or some harder instrument. At all events, let the "combative" or "destructive" urchin be dosed with blows in some form, for "moral suasion" is not to be thought of in his case. If anybody doubts the "science" of all this, he has only to remember the late "infuriate rioters of our city." The difficulty with the latter was not that their education had been

neglected, or that they had not been taught to reason, but their bumps had not been properly attended to in their youth!

The truth is, that there is nothing new in the whole system. It is substantially the same materialism taught by Epicurus, Zeno, and other Pagan philosophers; nay, it is nearly identical with that of Seneca, as any intelligent person may see by referring to his celebrated *Epistola* to Lucilius, in reply to some queries of the latter as to the nature of good. "Without doubt," says the tutor of Nero, "goodness is matter, since it acts; for that which acts is corporeal. Goodness acts on the soul; *it gives it its form; it is, so to speak, its mould;* properties which belong only to matter. Besides, are not those benefits which relate to the body corporeal? Those which relate to the soul are the same, since the soul itself is a corporeal substance. * * I do not believe you doubt that *the passions are corporeal;* instance *anger, love, sadness.* [Do not the phrenologists give each a corporeal organ, and make it strong or weak, according as that organ is large or small?] If you doubt, consider *to what extent they alter the countenance,* contract the forehead, brighten up the features, excite a blush, or repress the blood to the heart. Do you believe that *an incorporeal cause could make impressions so corporeal?* If the passions are corporeal, the maladies of the soul are the same; such as avarice, (Acquisitiveness,) cruelty, (Destructiveness,) and generally all the inveterate and incorrigible vices. [Do not the phrenologists pretend to lay their fingers on the very pieces of matter which produce those passions, as the acorn produces the oak?] * * * Do you not see what fire courage (Combativeness) gives to the eyes, what attentive looks has prudence, (Cautiousness,) what dignity and calmness, respect, (Self-Esteem,) &c.? * * Whatever has the power to repress, constrain, retain, or command, is corporeal; but does not fear restrain? does not audacity press forward? does not courage give impetuosity and impulse? is not moderation a bridle which holds? does not joy elevate? does not grief depress? &c., &c."

Even Pagan writers, all the first order of intellects, thought these doctrines as odious as they are absurd; suffice it to mention Aristotle among the Greeks, and Cicero among the Romans. "Nothing in the mind," says the Stagyrite, "is mixed or concrete, or is produced or formed from earth," (*ex terra natum.*) The Roman philosopher discusses the question at length in his Tusculan Disputations. "What, then," he asks, "is that power in us which seeks what is hidden, which invents and imagines? Can it seem to you to be formed of terrestrial clay? Is it but a mortal and perishable substance?

* * Yes, certainly, that faculty is divine which produces so many and so great things. What shall I say of the memory, which retains all, and of the mind, which invents all? I dare affirm that that power is what is greatest in God himself. * * What, then, is really divine? *Action, reason, thought, memory,* (*vigere, sapere, invenire, meminisse.*) These are the attributes of the soul; it is, then, divine; and if I dared to express myself poetically, like Euripides, I would say the soul is a God."*

M. Laharpe, in denouncing the materialism of the *System of Nature*, which, ignoring a thinking faculty, an immaterial soul, gives the brain the credit for all our perceptions, (*chez lui c'est le cerveau qui seul a toutes les perceptions,*) makes the following remarks, which are as applicable to the pretensions of our phrenologists as to those of the atheistical work to which they were originally applied; since, as we have already observed, phrenology is but the materialism of Epicurus and Zeno under a new name, and materialism is but the stepping-stone to atheism; if, indeed, the two doctrines are not identical. "How, in effect, can it be conceived," says Laharpe, "that the brain, (*cerveau,*) a membrane, a spongy tissue—in a word, a particle of matter—forms judgment? Common sense revolts against it, as every candid man must admit. Why should my brain judge more than my foot, or my hand? Why should one particle of matter be capable of reasoning more than another? Has the cellular tissue a closer relation with reason and thought than my nerves, my muscles, my fibres, &c.? I can conceive very well how all the parts of my body are affected, shaken, modified by the foreign bodies which come in contact with them; but no one will ever make me understand by what privilege my brain can reason while my ear cannot."†

We might easily accumulate the testimony of the greatest minds, ancient and modern, to the same effect; but we think

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* "Quid? illa vis quae tandem est, quæ investigat occulta, quæ inventio atque excogitatio dicitur? Ex hacne tibi terrena mortalique natura et caduca concreta dicetur? * * Prorsus hæc divina mihi viditur vis quæ lot res efficiat et tantas. Quid est enim memoria rerum et verborum? Quid porro inventio?" &c.—*Tuscul. Disp.*, lib. 1, cap. xxvi.

† "Comment en effet concevoir que le *cerveau*, qu'une membrane, un tissu spongieux, en un mot, une particule de matière, quelconque, forme des *jugemens?* Le sens intime y répugne; tout homme de bonne foi doit l'avouer. Pourquoi mon cerveau *jugerait*, il plutôt que mon pied ou ma main? Pour quoi tel morceau, de matière serait-il capable de *raisonner* plutôt qu'un autre? Le *tissu cellulaire* a-t-il plus de rapport avec le raisonnement, et la pensée, que mes nerfs, mes muscles, mes fibres, etc.? Je conçois fort bien comment toutes les parties de mon corps sont affectées, ébranlées, modifiées par les corps étrangers qui ont des rapports avec le mein; mais personne ne me fera jamais comprendre par quel privilége mon cerveau raisonnerait quand mon oreille ne raisonne pas."—*Cours de Littérature Ancienne et Moderne*, &c. Par J. F. Laharpe. Tome xvi., pp. 332-3.

we have adduced facts enough to accomplish our present purpose—that is, to convince any intelligent person not blinded by prejudice, not only that phrenology is no science, but that it is an instrument of fraud and imposture, by which an incalculable amount of injury has been inflicted on society by unprincipled men, who have multiplied a hundred-fold all the evils which the system possessed in the hands of Gall, Spurzheim and Combe, without imparting to it a single redeeming quality.

ART. VII.—1. *Annual Reports of the Board of Education for* 1860, 1861, *and* 1862.

2. *Manual of the Board of Education of the City of New York for* 1862.

WE have been engaged for some time in collecting facts and statistics for a series of articles on the public schools of New York, taking care to test the accuracy of both as best we could by occasional visits to different schools, for we feel that the subject is one of paramount importance to our citizens. We have not yet proceeded so far, however, as to be able to speak definitely of the results attained. For the present, therefore, we will confine ourselves to the system of teaching as developed by the Reports of the City Superintendent. Did we judge exclusively by the latter, we should readily come to the conclusion that there is but little room for improvement. We do not mean that Mr. Randall bestows any undue praise on the working of the system; we see no evidence of his having any disposition to do so; but, on the contrary, we are glad to find that he has the honesty and manliness to criticise where criticism seems to be called for. We confess, that had his reports been of a different character, we should not have passed them over in silence so long as we have.

Our first impression from examining one or two was, that if the teachers and other officers would carry out the suggestions of Mr. Randall, the results would be eminently satisfactory, even to those who are most sanguine as to the efficiency of our public schools; and the more carefully we have examined, the more thoroughly we have become convinced of this fact. We now proceed to give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves whether we are right or wrong in our estimate of the educational labors of Mr. Randall; at the same time, we

shall not fail to dissent from any views which, in our judgment, do not seem justified by the history of education, so far as we understand it. We first take up the Report for 1860, turn to that part which urges the necessity of a Normal and High School for girls, and extract the following passage:

"This subject has been under the consideration of the Board for several years past, and various propositions have been, from time to time, submitted and discussed without definite action. The absolute and pressing necessity for such an institution as shall adequately prepare such young ladies as design to become teachers in our public schools, for the efficient discharge of their responsible duties, is universally conceded; while, at the same time, the expediency and propriety of establishing an institution for the higher culture and more advanced education of such of the female pupils of our Grammar Schools as have completed the course of study prescribed by the Board, is with almost equal unanimity admitted. The only debatable question seems to be, in what manner these two objects can best and most economically be attained; whether by the organization of two independent institutions—by a combination of both in one institution—or by engrafting upon all, or a portion of the female departments of the Grammar Schools, a higher and more advanced course of study, which shall secure all the benefits and advantages of a separate institution. Each of these plans has its advocates and defenders, and each is worthy of careful consideration.

"A normal school for the *special education and preparation of teachers seems absolutely indispensable to the complete success and efficient advancement of our system. All experience here and elsewhere has abundantly shown that the highest intellectual, and even the highest moral qualifications, afford no sufficient guarantee of practical success as a teacher.* There must be special preparation, technical skill, a peculiar tact and talent —natural or acquired, to succeed in this most important profession. This can only be attained, where it does not already exist, or be fully developed and cultivated where it does, in an institution specifically devoted to that purpose. It is, therefore, a *matter of paramount necessity that such an institution should exist; and no agency of the Grammar Schools can supersede this necessity, or accomplish the work which legitimately pertains to such an organization.*"—Pp. 7, 8.

We have marked in italics those remarks in the truth of which we particularly concur. Nor will any intelligent person entertain an opposite opinion, if aware that nearly ninety per cent. of the teachers in our public schools are females. Why, then, should not the latter have a Free Academy or High School? There is every reason to believe that they would make better use of it than the males do of that established for their peculiar use. Let our tax-payers bear in mind that Mr. Randall has every disposition to commend whatever is commendable in our present Free Academy, and then read the following observations:

"We shall assume it to be all that *it claims*, and all that is desirable for the entrance of its graduates upon the busy scenes of actual life. *The facts, however, stare us in the face, from the experience and the sta-*

tistics of this institution, as well as from the records of the Grammar Schools, that *not one in fifty or sixty of the pupils of the latter ever enters its walls*, and *not one in five hundred passes through its graduating class*. The annual catalogues of the institution, from the year 1855 to 1860, inclusive, show that, out of about 23,000 male pupils in the Grammar School, 396 *only were admitted*, in the former year, into the introductory class, of which number, 46 *only were graduated at the expiration of five years;* and this result may be taken as a fair average of the proportions which have uniformly prevailed between the admissions and the graduations. Of the 396 pupils thus enrolled in the introductory class of 1855, eighty-eight, or *more than one-fifth, left the institution during the first academic term*, ending in February, 1856, *and eighty-nine during the second;* thus showing that *nearly one-half of the whole number admitted* left the institution *within one year after their admission*, and of the residue, 176 only passed into the freshman class of 1857; 104 into the sophomore class of 1858; 65 into the junior class of 1859; and 46 *only* finally completed the full course, and graduated in the senior class of 1860.

"It is manifest, therefore, that, *in point of fact, whatever may be said of theory*, a very small proportion of the twenty-five thousand male pupils of our Grammar Schools are, *either directly or indirectly, benefited by the higher course of instruction pursued in the Free Academy.*"

Although quite enough is shown here, Mr. Randall has made some important omissions. It would lead us too far, on the present occasion, to give our impressions in full of the Free Academy; for we have frequently visited the institution, and taken pains to make ourselves acquainted with its working. The knowledge thus obtained we shall duly use in a future article, with such additional facts as we may be able to glean in the mean time. But we may remark now, in passing, that Mr. Randall might have given abundant reasons for the unfavorable results to which he has thus alluded. He might, for example, have proceeded to tell us that the students themselves who leave the Academy so suddenly, have intelligence enough, young as they are, to see in a very short time that, if the institution is not exactly a humbug, it has proved thus far, at least, to be much more for the benefit of its "faculty," than for that of the public who maintain it so munificently. Perhaps he thought this would be sufficiently evident from the information which we have in Schedule No. 7, of the Annual Report of the Board for 1862, in connection with the facts he has furnished us; and we must admit that for any intelligent, thinking person, it would be so. We copy the document in question here, asking our readers to examine it carefully:

SCHEDULE No. 7.—*Names of Instructors employed at the Free Academy, and Compensation paid to each.*

NAMES.	Annual Compensation.
Horace Webster, LL.D., Principal, Professor of Moral, Intellectual and Political Philosophy, and President of the Faculty	$3,000 00

John Jason Owen, D.D., LL.D., Vice-Principal, Professor of the Latin and Greek Languages and Literature, and Vice-President of the Faculty	2,500 00
Wolcott Gibbs, M.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physics.	2,000 00
Gerardus Beekman Docharty, LL.D., Professor of Pure Mathematics, and Secretary of the Faculty	2,000 00
John Augustus Nichols, A.M., Professor of Mixed Mathematics	2,000 00
Charles Edward Anthon, A.M., Professor of History and Belles-Lettres	2,000 00
John Graeff Barton, A.M., Professor of the English Language and Literature	2,000 00
Jean Roemer, LL.D., Professor of the French Language and Literature	2,000 00
Agustin José Morales, LL.D., Professor of the Spanish Language and Literature	2,000 00
Adolph Werner, M.S., Professor of the German Language and Literature	2,000 00
Herman Joseph Aloys Kœrner, Ph. D., Professor of Drawing	2,000 00
Robert Ogden Doremus, M.D., Professor of Natural History and Physiology (absent by leave)	1.000 00
Joel Tyler Benedict, A.M., Adjunct Professor of Pure Mathematics	2,000 00
George Washington Huntsman, A.M., Adjunct Professor of Philosophy	2,000 00
Joseph Howard Palmer, A.M., Tutor in Pure Mathematics	1,500 00
William Beinhauer Silber, A.M., Tutor in Ancient Languages	1,500 00
Benjamin Arad Sheldon, A.M., Tutor in Pure Mathematics	1,500 00
Alfred George Compton, A.M., Tutor in History and Belles-Lettres	1,000 00
Casimir Fabregou, A.M. Tutor in French	1,000 00
Samuel Gould Jelliffe, A.M., Tutor in History and Belles-Lettres	750 00
James Godwin, A.M., Tutor in Pure Mathematics	750 00
Lucien Oudin, A.M., Tutor in French	1,000 00
Solomon Woolf, A.M., Tutor in Drawing	750 00
James Knox, A.M., Tutor in Drawing	950 00
Fitzgerald Tisdall, A.M., Tutor in Ancient Languages	750 00
W. K. Hallock, temporary Tutor	600 00

It will be seen that the salaries are abundantly liberal, and that there are a goodly number of them. We do not complain of either fact, *per se*. By all means let the professors be well paid. All we should ask is, first, that they be qualified for their duties; and secondly, that they perform those duties conscientiously and honestly. We have certainly no disposition to find fault in this matter; it is one of those instances in which we should much rather commend than censure; but we must say, that nothing of the kind ever surprised us more than a sort of lecture we heard delivered to the students by the "President of the Faculty, and Professor of Moral, Intellectual and Political Philosophy," &c., &c. Having never seen the

gentleman before the occasion alluded to, the janitor had considerable difficulty in convincing us that we had really heard "the head man," and not some subordinate assistant, whose duty it was to get up something, however crude, in the form of a lecture, once a month or so. Nor were we entirely satisfied as to the identity of "the professor of all the philosophies," until shown a piece of his composition. After that, however, we could not doubt. Suffice it to add, that we left the institution fully impressed with the idea that if what we had just seen and heard could be regarded as a fair specimen of the "working" of the Free Academy, the institution was a failure. But whether the qualifications, or want of qualifications, of the faculty have had anything to do with the unfavorable results referred to by the City Superintendent in the above extract, we leave our readers to judge. In our humble opinion, the professor, who gets $3,000 a year—$500 more than any other member of the Faculty—and who is supposed to give instructions "in all the philosophies," ought to be able to set a good example to his subordinate brethren. We might make other remarks, even in this hurried glance, on the working, or rather the non-working, of the Free Academy; but the Board of Education has done so well lately, and has adopted so many of the suggestions of its vigilant and efficient superintendent, that we anticipate early improvements with some confidence.

Mr. Randall pays a suitable tribute, in his Report for 1861, to the recuperative energy of our people, and to their disposition to maintain our public schools under the most adverse circumstances. The following remarks are interesting as well as truthful:

"Notwithstanding the immensely increased expenditure necessary to the fitting out, supporting and maintaining of upwards of forty regiments of armed troops, and the care and support of their families at home, a million and a half of dollars have been expended in the support of our Public Schools, and nearly an equal amount has been raised for their maintenance during the ensuing year. Eight hundred and twenty thousand dollars have been paid to the teachers, male and female, who have conducted the operations of these schools; seventy-six thousand dollars for school apparatus, and two hundred and fifty-nine thousand for building, remodelling, and furnishing school-houses, and upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the support of the numerous Evening Schools, the Free Academy, the incidental expenses of the Board of Education, and the salaries of its officers. One hundred and sixty thousand children, between the ages of four and twenty-one, have been under instruction for a greater or less period during the year, in the several Public and Day Schools, exceeding, by nearly twelve thousand, the number taught during the preceding year; while, in the forty Evening Schools, taught during a period of five months, from fifteen to twenty thousand pupils were under instruction. The average daily attendance of pupils in the several

Day Schools, during the year, was upwards of sixty-two thousand, exceeding, by nearly five thousand, the average of the preceding year; and in the Evening Schools this average amounted to about ten thousand. Seventeen hundred teachers, about fifteen hundred of whom were females, have been in daily attendance upon these schools, and a large proportion of them have been engaged in the tuition of the Evening Schools."

The alacrity thus shown on the part of our people to sustain the great cause of popular education is appropriately contrasted by Mr. Randall with the course pursued by the enemies of the Union under similar circumstances, and this is followed by a vindication of intellectual development, as the only efficient means of civilization.

"What a striking contrast to the condition of affairs in this respect is presented by the infatuated people who have lifted up their parricidal hands against the sacred ark of the Union! Not content with sweeping away every vestige of public education existing within their boundaries, and confiscating the funds heretofore devoted to its support, they have ignominiously and barbarously expelled from their Confederacy every Northern teacher suspected of the slightest degree of patriotism, and of attachment to the Union, and have publicly denounced the entire system of free public instruction as utterly and radically at variance with the institutions and the government which they seek to establish, as an interference with the rights of the owners of wealth, and as a sinister and unjustifiable means of undermining the foundations upon which alone, in their judgment, society can be based. However applicable these conclusions and results may be to the frame-work of Southern institutions, as modified and developed by recent events, experience has not so instructed the loyal States of the North; and they will be slow to exchange their tried and cherished system of Free Schools and universal education, even under the heaviest burdens of a desolating civil war, for the narrow and aristocratic policy which would confine the blessings of education to the sons and daughters of luxury and wealth.

"All history and all experience bear the most incontrovertible and uniform testimony that the progress of civilization at all times, and under all circumstances, is exclusively dependent upon the progress of knowledge and the advancement of science, modified, regulated, and guided by the spirit of Christianity, and sound principles of morality and virtue. An ignorant people will invariably, and of necessity, be found to be a vicious people—immersed in sensuality, steeped in the lowest and most degrading superstition and bigotry, an easy prey to the invader, and wholly incapable, while in that condition, of rising above the lowest level of humanity. As with a people so with individuals; eminence, honor, usefulness, advancement, can be attained only through mental cultivation; and in the precise proportion that the means of this cultivation are diffused through the masses of a community, without distinction of rank or station, will be the physical, intellectual, moral, social, and artistical progress of that community. As ignorance, with all its attendant and inseparable train of vice, crime and degradation, is dispersed before the advancing sunlight of knowledge, the march of science, in all its diversified departments, is steadily onward; a higher and higher standard of civilization

is attained; the arts, with all their graces and beauty, adorn our homes; wealth is more and more equally diffused; the rights of all are respected and protected; and abundant avenues are everywhere opened for individual and social enterprise and prosperity."

We take one extract more from the Report for 1861, because we think that the suggestions which it contains claim the attention of every teacher and student having any ambition to be regarded as intelligent, and because we have reason to believe that they are much needed, or at least *were*, very recently, in some of our public schools:

"An important change has been made in the method hitherto pursued in conducting the annual examination, which, it is believed, cannot fail of being attended with the most beneficial results in the mode of instruction, and the acquisition of the pupils. Instead of proposing, as has heretofore been the case, a series of questions to the pupils under examination, eliciting, not unfrequently, a brief and unsatisfactory answer, in the very language, perhaps, of the text-book used, and failing, to a great extent, to bring out the real acquirements of the members of the class in reference to the subject matter under consideration, specific portions of the study under review have been required to be given by the pupil, without the aid of leading questions, as far as practicable, in their own language, and accompanied by such explanations, illustrations, and examples on their part, as may serve thoroughly to test their knowledge of the subject, and their capability of clearly and intelligently expressing that knowledge. In reading, the chief object of the examination is intended to ascertain, not only the elocutionary powers of the pupils, and their ability to read well, but to test their entire understanding and comprehension of the meaning, object, and purpose of the passage read. In grammar, *the mere mechanical exercise of parsing is postponed to a full and complete analysis of the sentence given, a transposition of its constituent parts, where it is in any degree complicated, its general structure, and the rules and principles of its grammatical construction.* In geography, the pupil is required to take up any given section of country, and, without the aid of questions or suggestions, to describe its boundaries, rivers, bays, capes, mountains, lakes, chief towns, capital, climate, soil, productions, imports and exports, government, natural curiosities, artificial communications, and, in short, everything connected with a complete and thorough knowledge of all its most important features, and, if possible, to sketch an outline of its principal geographical peculiarities on the black-board. In history, a specific period is selected, and its leading events required to be given by the pupil in his own language, avoiding, as far as possible, a mere slavish adhesion to the particular language of the text-book used."

We may remark, parenthetically, that some of the teachers have had much trouble in carrying out these suggestions; for it is somewhat difficult even for the most ingenious to teach others what they never knew themselves. There are many that can name the parts of speech very well, as they occur, who, if asked to analyze a sentence, would feel considerably puzzled. Of course the reason is, that they have learned gram-

mar only in the Polly Hopkins style; they have learned nothing of its philosophy; and they do not possess the talent to remedy the defects of their early education. It is easy to understand that persons thus circumstanced have no desire to see witnesses of their blunders.

In one of our occasional visits to different schools, we were considerably amused at an instance of this kind. We doubt whether the divine Plato in his Academy was half so pompous, or assumed such lofty airs, as the principal of the school to which we refer. He is perfectly safe, however, from our criticism; for there is a grade of intelligence below which we think it useless to criticise, except in general terms, and without mentioning any names. Let it suffice, therefore, to observe that the individual alluded to evinced as much reluctance to have visitors present at his recitations as one engaged in counterfeiting the current coins of the nation might be supposed to evince, if any curious person desired to witness his operations. But all this only made us the more desirous of "assisting" at the recitations. We confess we pretended not to understand the excuses made, but patiently waited for the pupils. The latter, too, seemed to be aware of the freemasonry by which they were surrounded. The exercises, after recess, were finally resumed, however, and pretty soon we saw the secret of the teacher's reluctance. Alas, poor fellow! thought we, who could blame you, after all? You are trying to teach your pupils what you don't understand yourself; you are by no means sure that you are right, and do not like to be laughed at.

On a little inquiry, we found that Mr. Randall had just introduced the analytical system, which explained the whole affair. But such "analytical parsing" as we witnessed on this memorable occasion we never had before, and trust we never shall witness again in any civilized community. It is but justice to say, however, that this was the only instance of the kind we met with, and that we had only to go to the next street, (Fourteenth,) in a diagonal line—from the west to the east of the city—to witness as good analytical parsing as we had ever witnessed in any school of an equal grade. To this it is but fair to add that both Mr. Randall and his first assistant, Mr. Kiddle, offered to afford us every possible facility, not only to visit any of the schools, but also to examine any classes in whose studies we took an interest; at the same time fully exculpating the Board of Education, as well as themselves, from all intention of surrounding any of the schools under their jurisdiction with secrecy. We have alluded to the matter at all only as a somewhat amusing illustration of the

difficulty of introducing a new system of teaching through the medium of a certain class of minds.

In opening the Superintendent's Report for 1862, the first suggestions we meet with have reference to further improvements; but improvements of a different kind from those which we have been just alluding to. We think that few intelligent persons will read the following passage without fully concurring with Mr. Randall:

"That the system, in many of its details, may admit of improvement, is unquestionable. In so extensive and complicated an organization it can scarcely be expected that experience will not, from time to time, as its workings advance, demonstrate many imperfections. Some of these may be remedied by the officers in charge; others by parents and guardians; and still others, and perhaps more important ones, by those who are periodically called upon to select the agents into whose hands these institutions are, for the time being, committed. It may, perhaps, be true that *a less number of officers would secure a more vigilant and effective administration of the system;* that the entire separation of the members *of the general from the local boards would confer a greater independency of action on the former, and divest it of the disadvantages growing out of the powerful influence exerted by the occasional pressure of local interests;* and that the consolidation of all the schools into one great system, under the charge of officers selected *not so much with reference to their location* as to their *peculiar qualifications for the discharge of the high duties imposed upon them,* would combine advantages not now possessed by the existing ward organizations. These, however, are all subjects for mature and deliberate consideration, and careful advisement."

The remarks which we have italicised claim particular attention. When it is borne in mind that the City Superintendent is elected, not by our citizens generally, but by the members of the Board of Education, he will readily get the credit of being bold and manly, as well as thoughtful and progressive. It is but fair to admit at the same time, that it is creditable to the Board to sustain its chief officer in that honest outspokenness which everywhere pervades these reports; for that this is done, is sufficiently proved by the fact that Mr. Randall has held his present position uninterruptedly for more, we believe, than twelve years, although he has had to be elected once every two years. We fear it would have been different had his election been committed to "the people." We regard the *vox populi* as a very good thing in certain cases; but that of selecting a person qualified to direct and superintend the labors of one thousand eight hundred and ninety-six (1,896) teachers, is not one of these. The figures remind us of the statistics for the past year, which we regard of sufficient importance and interest to copy here, although the amount of space we had prescribed for this article draws rapidly to a close:

"The aggregate number of pupils taught in the several Grammar Schools, Primary Departments and Schools, Colored and Corporate Schools, during the year ending on the 30th September last, was 173,198

Of this number there were in the

Male Grammar Schools	28,758
Female " "	22,742
Primary Departments	74,054
Primary Schools	35,202
Colored Schools	2,391
Corporate Schools	10,051
Total	173,198

Showing an increase of 12,254 over the preceding year.

Of whom,

The number taught for 10 months and over was	40,526
" " 8 months and less than 10	19,568
" " 6 " " " 8	21,308
" " 4 " " " 6	24,653
" " 2 " " " 4	31,826
" " less than 2 months	35,317
	173,198

The number of pupils in the several Evening Schools during the year, was 18,639

847

Total 192,684

The average attendance in the several Grammar Schools, Primary Departments and Schools, Colored and Corporate Schools, for the past year, ascertained according to the legal standard for making the apportionment, was as follows:

Grammar Schools, Male Department	12,345
" Female "	10,335
" Primary "	28,700
Primary Schools	13,784
Colored "	993
Corporate "	4,135
Total	70,292

Being an increase of 8,170 over the average attendance during the preceding year.

The average attendance in the several Evening Schools during the term ending March 1, 1862, was 8,433; such average having been materially affected by the great diminution in attendance of the pupils after the holidays, which will be hereafter, under its appropriate head, adverted to.

The number of duly qualified teachers employed during the past year in the several schools under the charge of the Board (exclusive of the Free Academy and Evening Schools) was 1,896—of whom 191 held state certificates, 21 were graduates of the State Normal School, and the remainder were licensed by the City Superintendent. Of this number, 196 are male, and 1,700 female teachers."

In the same report we have an interesting historical sketch of our system of public schools, from which we learn that, "at

the commencement of the present century, and prior to the year 1805, no specific public provision for the education of youth existed in the city, or scarcely in the State of New York." It will be seen from the following extract, that the Superintendent's own duties are sufficiently varied and onerous:

"The *City Superintendent* is specially required to visit every school under the charge of the Board, as often as once in each year; to inquire into all matters relating to the government, course of instruction, books, studies, discipline, and conduct of such schools, the condition of the school-houses, and of the schools generally; to advise and counsel with the Trustees in relation to their duties, the proper studies, discipline, and conduct of the schools, the course of instruction and text-books; to ascertain and report whether any sectarian teaching or books have been used in any of the schools; to make a monthly report to the Board of his proceedings generally in the visitation of the schools, with such recommendations and suggestions as he may deem necessary and advisable, transmitting copies to the local officers of such portions of his reports as relate to the schools under their management; under such general rules and regulations as the Board may establish, to examine and license teachers, and revoke such licenses on due notice to the teacher and Trustees, subject to the right of appeal of any party aggrieved to the State Superintendent; and generally, by all the means in his power, to promote sound education, elevate the character and qualifications of teachers, improve the means of instruction, and advance the interests of the schools under his supervision. He is also made subject to such general rules and regulations as the State Superintendent may prescribe, and required to make an annual report to that officer of the condition and statistics of the schools under his charge."

It may be doubted whether the whole faculty of the Free Academy could accomplish so much. Many of our readers know that there are at least a few of that body who, if they attempted to write and publish such elaborate reports without the revision of some friendly hand, would only expose themselves to public ridicule;* yet one alone of those alluded to draws at least as much from the public treasury for his services as Mr. Randall.

In short, the subject of public school education is fully discussed, in all its bearings, in these Reports. If improvements

* It is a curious fact—and one which in our opinion ought to be publicly known—that it is precisely the "professors" of this character who are most careless as to the duties for the supposed performance of which they receive such large salaries, and who are most anxious to dispose of their leisure hours to others for a consideration. The time they should occupy in preparing themselves for the duties for which they are so munificently paid, is devoted to the manufacture of "lectures" which they deliver at some of those third or fourth rate "Institutes" for young ladies, which are so numerous in New York and Brooklyn. None affect so much disgust towards the public schools, as the principals of the class of institutes referred to; but they think they make a fine display in announcing that Professor Somebody is to deliver a course of lectures at the Institute on the languages, dead and living, on the occult sciences of the ancients, or some other subject equally profound and startling; while Professor Somebody flatters himself in turn that he is rapidly attaining the position of a modern Quintilian, or of an American Guizot.

recommended are not made during the current year, they are recurred to the year after, and urged in a spirit of zeal and earnestness proportioned to their importance. This is true, for example, of the proposed Normal School for girls, in favor of which new and convincing arguments are adduced in every succeeding report. In that for 1862 four pages are devoted to it, but from which we can only extract the very truthful remark, that "It is of the utmost importance that the seventeen hundred teachers daily engaged in the work of instruction in our city should be thus completely and systematically trained for the performance of their duty."

But we must close for the present. We refer those wishing to be further informed on this important subject to the Annual Reports, at which we have been able to give a mere cursory glance. A large amount of additional multifarious information may be found in the "Manual of the Board of Education of the City and County of New York," compiled by Mr. Thomas Boesé, the intelligent and efficient Clerk of the Board. The names, grades, and salaries of all our teachers are given in the "Manual;" also the names and positions of all the school officers, an abstract of the "laws relative to public instruction in the City of New York," &c., &c. If, in our future efforts to form a definite opinion of the actual working of the system, by visiting the schools and hearing recitations, we see any serious defects or malpractices, our readers may rely upon it that we will not shrink from exposing them.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Gael and the Cymbri.* By SIR WM. BENTHAM. London.

2. *Conquest of England by the Normans.* By M. THIERRY.

3. *Mallet's Northern Antiquities.*

4. *The Heimskringa, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway, translated from the Icelandic of* SNORRE STURLESON, with a Preliminary Dissertation by SAMUEL LAING, Esq. 3 vols. London.

THERE are no people who have made their mark in the world, whose origin and early history have been shrouded in greater mystery, than the Scandinavians; that is, the ancient inhabitants of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland. "History," says Mallet, "has not recorded the annals of a race who have caused greater, more sudden, or more numerous revolutions in Europe, and whose antiquities are at the same time so little

known."* And, scanty as that knowledge is, it would have been still less, but for a great event which drew upon them the attention of a people who possessed the advantages of a literature and historians. This was the famous expedition of the Cimbri into Italy, about one hundred and eleven years before the Christian era. According to the Roman annals,† more than three hundred thousand warriors, known by the name of Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini, set forth in two armies from the Cimbric Chersonese or Jutland, the Danish peninsula‡ and the adjacent islands, in quest of a more favorable climate, plunder, and glory. Florus says, that "flying from their own country at the extremity of Germany in consequence of an inundation of the ocean, they sought new possessions over the whole world." They attacked whatever people they found in their way. They penetrated into Gaul, which they overran, till they were repulsed and driven out by the Belgæ.§ They also entered Spain, but failed to gain a foothold there.‖ On their return they sent ambassadors to the Romans, asking that a territory be assigned to them in which to settle, and in return for which the Roman republic might have their services in arms. Their proposition being rejected, they resolved to obtain by force what was refused to their entreaty, and they invaded Italy. They defeated and destroyed in succession four Roman armies sent against them. Rome was in danger. At length the generalship of the conqueror of Jugurtha prevailed. Marius advanced against the invaders. He first overthrew the Teutones in a great pitched battle, in which, according to Plutarch, one hundred thousand perished. He then sought the Cimbri, who had halted near the Po, in the hope that the Teutones would join them. Ignorant of the fate of their allies, they sent to Marius demanding an allotment of land, sufficient to maintain themselves and their brethren. Marius answered that "their brethren already possessed more than they desired, and that they would not easily quit what he had assigned to them." The Cimbri, irritated by this raillery, resolved to take vengeance, and challenged Marius to battle, desiring him to name the time and place. The veteran general replied that though Romans were not accustomed to consult their enemies in such matters, he would, notwithstanding, for once oblige them, and appointed the next day but one to meet them on the plains of Vercelli. At the time appointed

* Northern Antiquities.
† See Plutarch in Mario. Livy epit., l. 68. Florus, l. 3, chap. 3.
‡ It is from Jutland that the Jutes settled in England.
§ Cæsar's Commentaries, Gallic. See Book II., chap. 4.
‖ Florus, Lib. III., cap. 3.

the two armies marched thither. The heat was excessive, which was against the northerners, and in favor of the Italians, who also gained the advantage of having the sun in their backs. The Cimbri were defeated with great slaughter, and those that fled met with new dangers in their camp, for the women received them as enemies, and massacred without distinction their fathers, brothers, sons and husbands; they even carried their fury to such an extent as to dash out the brains of their children, and completed the catastrophe by throwing themselves under their chariot-wheels. After their example, their husbands, in despair, turned their arms against one another. On that day one hundred and forty thousand are said to have fallen; and when to this is added the capture of 60,000 prisoners,* it may be said that the invaders were almost literally annihilated at a blow. A few escaped to the mountains, where they founded a colony, and continue a distinct people to this day. Frederick IV., of Denmark, visited them in 1708, and conversed with them in Danish, which they spoke and perfectly understood.† Such was the terror the Cimbri had inspired that Marius was honored with a triumph, and decreed by the Senate to be "the third founder of Rome." "No other nation," says Tacitus, "has given us such cause to dread their arms; not the Samnites, nor Carthaginians, nor Spaniards and Gauls, nor even the Parthians."‡ Nor were those fears without cause, if the Cimbri are to be regarded as of the same race with the Goths, who several centuries afterwards established their dominion in Italy, as did the Vandals in Africa.

Pliny the elder, who died A. D. 79, is the first writer who distinctly mentions Scandinavia by that name; and Procopius, the secretary of the Roman General Belisarius, who flourished in the sixth century, is the first who called its Cimbrian population Danes. But the ancient Greeks and Romans, three centuries before the Christian era, had a vague idea of the northern peninsula of Europe. They knew that an island, or cluster of islands, existed in the Northern Ocean, for Pytheas, a celebrated navigator of Marseilles, who lived before Alexander the Great, had penetrated to these isolated and distant regions, and the ancient geographers have left us some notices of his discoveries. He visited the island of Albion, and describes, six days' sail to the northeast, an island or country which he named Thule, and the Roman classic writers after-

* See Plutarch in Mario and Liv., 67-68.
† Eustace's Classical Tour of Italy, vol. i., p. 142.
‡ Tac. Germ., 36.

wards called *Ultima Thule*, because they regarded it as the most distant northern point ever reached by man. Thule is generally believed to be Jutland, which is a peninsula of Denmark; but others have traced the name of the ancient Thule in Tellemark, a province of South Norway, whence Pytheas may have entered the Baltic, where the Phœnicians had been before attracted in pursuit of amber. He represents the northern part of Thule as wild and uncultivated, and peopled by savages, who lived by hunting and fishing. The inhabitants of the south were farther advanced in the arts of life, cultivated grain, reared bees, and brewed hydromel, which was their favorite drink. But they were all distinguished by the same ferocious and warlike character.* Among the Scandinavian tribes the ancient geographers and historians enumerated the Suiones, (the Swedes,) the Getæ, (Goths,) and the Dankiches, who are probably the Danes, called, in the ancient language of the North, Danir, or Danskir.† Pliny mentions a gulf beyond the Cimbrian Chersonese as filled with an archipelago of islands; and Pomponius Mela describes a similar gulf, and says the peninsula which it washed was inhabited by the Teutones. There can be no doubt that this gulf is the Baltic Sea. Tacitus speaks of the northern columns of Hercules, referring to the narrow passage of the Sound into the Baltic, so much resembling his southern pillars, the Straits of Gibraltar. The fleet of Drusus had failed to pass, or even to approach this passage, which was as impenetrable to him as it was to Hercules; and the knowledge which the Romans acquired of the maritime nations on the shores of the Baltic was obtained by their land journeys in search of amber.‡

Procopius speaks of the different Scandinavian tribes as one people in respect to their origin, language, manners and institutions. "They are all," he says, "of a fair complexion, have red or yellow hair, and a tall, manly stature; are governed by the same laws and customs, were all formerly of the same heathen religion, and are now universally Arian Christians. Their language is that called the Gothic, and they regard themselves as one nation, descended from the same common stock." In this opinion we think Procopius was mistaken. Tacitus, whose accuracy is more to be relied on, tells us that some of these tribes were Celtic. He says, "On the coast to

* Ptolem. Geogr., lib. ii., cap. 2. See also Dr. Bredsdorff's Dissertation upon the Ancient Geography of the North, in the Transactions of the Scandinavisk Litteraturselskab for 1824.

† Tacitus Germ., cap. xiv. Plin., lib. iv., cap. 13.

‡ See Columela de situ orbis, lib. iii., cap. 3. Pliny, Nat. His., lib. iv., chap. 27. Tac. German., cap. xxiv.

the right of the Suevian Sea, (the Baltic,) the Aestii have fixed their habitation. In their dress and manners they resemble the Suevians, but their language has more affinity to that of Britain.* They worship the mother of the Gods. In the cultivation of corn and other fruits of the earth they labor with more patience than is consistent with the natural laziness of the Germans. Their industry is excited in another instance; they explore the sea for amber, in their language called *glese*, and are the only people who gather that curious substance, astonished at the price paid by the luxury of Rome for what seems to them of no value."† Now it is well ascertained that the British language at that time was Celtic, and the word *glese*, amber, so called from its green color, is pure Erse, being derived from *glas*, the sea. The Tigurini, whom Florus mentions as part of the Cimbric expedition, are also known to be Celts, being a colony from Celtic Helvetia.‡ Tacitus also mentions a tribe called the Gothinians, who dwelt in the north of Germany, spoke the Gallic language, and worked in mines.§

Certainly the Fenni, or Finns, and the Lapps, who were probably the earliest settlers in Scandinavia, are not of Gothic origin. Tacitus describes the Finns as a savage race, living in squalid poverty, having neither arms nor horses; feeding upon the grass of the fields, lying upon the bare ground, clothed with the skins of wild beasts; their sole trust was in their arrows, which, for want of iron, they pointed with bones. Both men and women hunted together. Their infants had no shelter from the elements or the wild beasts save the interwoven boughs of the trees. Still, they esteemed their lot happier than that of those who, cultivating fields and building habitations, were alternately the slaves of hope and fear.‖ But this was not always their condition.

It cannot be denied that the Finns and Laplanders anciently possessed a much more considerable part of Scandinavia than they do at present. This was the opinion of Grotius and Leibnitz, who affirm that these tribes were formerly spread over the southern parts of Norway and Sweden, whence in process of time they have been driven out by new colonies of Germans and Scythians, and banished among the northern rocks. But whether the Finns were formerly the entire possessors of Scandinavia, or were only somewhat more numerous than they are at present, it is very certain that this nation has been established

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* *Lingua Britannicæ proprior.* † Tacitus de Morib. Germ., xiv.
‡ See Cæsar's Commentaries, Gallic War, book i., chap. 12.
§ Tacitus, Germ., 43. ‖ Tacitus, Germ., 46.

there from the earliest ages, and has always differed from the other inhabitants by features so strong and remarkable that we must acknowledge its origin to be entirely different.

The language of the Finns does not resemble any dialect of the ancient Teutonic or Celtic tongues, and there are now no traces of the people or language in Europe or Western Asia, whence all the other European populations have come. They evidently do not belong to the Indo-European races. The Finns, according to Prichard,* are of Mongolic stock, and belong to the Ugrian race, or Ogres, a nomadic people expelled from the high plains of China by the Hiong-nu; the main proof of its origination in that quarter turning on the analogy of its languages with those of the great central nations. The race termed Ogres or Ugrian nations had left the eastern plateau, and had occupied countries towards the northwest before the earliest accounts of history.

In times long preceding the German and Slavonic nations in the north of Europe, the Ugrians had possessed all the regions extending from the Baltic to the Uralian Mountains, and reaching even to the Obi and Irtish in Siberia. Farthest towards the west were the Finns and Lapps, forming one branch of the race. The people whom the Russians call Tschudes are of the same stock. Farther eastward the name of Ugrians predominated. The Ogres were the prototypes of savage monsters, dwellers in forests and mountains, whose name is better known in popular fable than in its historical import. It is, however, the most ancient denomination of this race.

The tribes of Teutons and Cimbri, on arriving in Scandinavia, designated the Ogres as monsters. The epithet of Jotuns, which is of frequent occurrence in the sagas, had this meaning. Jotuns among the old poets of the north, like Titans among the Greeks, were the enemies of gods and men; creatures of the imagination, symbolical of physical and moral evils. Races of men who were the hereditary and perpetual foes of the Teutonic tribes, were also called Jotuns, and this term assumes its historical sense when it is used to designate the barbarous aborigines of Northern Europe, whose conquest or extirpation by a race of happier destinies is celebrated in the early poems of the Scalds.

Traces of these older inhabitants of Scandinavia are found in the stories of their warfare, handed down from the early historical age. Adam, of Bremen, who during the eleventh century, in the character of missionary as well as in military ser-

* Researches into the Physical History of Mankind, vol. iii., p. 394, *et seq.* Natural History of Man, vol. i., p. 204.

vice, lived twelve years with the Danish king, Swen Ulfson, says of them: "Narravit mihi rex Danorum sæpe recolendus, gentem quandam ex montanis in plana descendere solitam et incertum esse unde veniat." "Subito accedunt; omnem depopulantur regionem." Enemies of civilization, these barbarous natives of mountains and forests, who were clothed with the skins of wild beasts, and uttered sounds more like the cries of savage animals than the speech of men—"qui ferarum pellibus utuntur pro vestibus, et loquentes ad invicem frendere magis quam verba proferre dicuntur"—dwelt in caves and the clefts of rocks, and issued thence as nightly marauders to perpetrate deeds of blood. He reports that they exceeded wild beasts in the swiftness of their flight. By the Icelanders they were called Jotnen and Thursen—giants and enchanters. That these designations do not belong to the mere creations of the fancy, such as superstition in later times associates with them, appears from the fact that the historical Sagas deduce the genealogy of many families from a Jotnian ancestry.

The early poets describe real wars in the accounts of contests against barbarians of the rocks and mountains. In the song of Thiodulf, to the honor of Thor, that god is termed the destroyer of mountain wolves, the overturner of the altars of the Fornjotish idols, the conqueror of Jotuns and Finns. So Snorre Sturleson, in the "Heimskringla," uses Finns and Jotuns as synonymous. The people thus described are plainly the Fenni mentioned by Tacitus, and referred to by Procopius in the sixth century as the Skrithfinni inhabiting Thule. In the time of Adam, of Bremen, they dwelt towards the north, between Sweden and Norway, especially in Helsingland. He also mentions them in the Wermlands. In early periods they were certainly in the south of Sweden, where, in a part of Smaland, are still found the local names of Finweden, the field of Finns, Finnheide and Finnia. In the highlands of Scotland, also, and Northern Ireland, the significant names of Finn, Fion, Finney, Finnegan, Fingal, and Fingall represent a marine tribe of Finnish origin, the name Fingall clearly indicating the mixed blood of the Finn and Gael.* The Finns have been the miners and smiths of Scandinavia from time immemorial. The eastern branches of the race are the Woguls of the Uralian mountains, and the Ostiaks on the Obi; from them are descended the Magyars or Hungarians, a warlike and energetic people,

* Prichard's Natural History of Man, and Hamilton Smith's Natural History of the Human Species.

in whom have been developed the very highest physical, intellectual, and moral qualities.*

At the time of Tacitus the Finns were as savage as the Lapps; but the former, during the succeeding ages, became so far civilized as to change a nomadic life for one of agricultural pursuits, while the Lapps have ever continued to be barbarous nomades, as well as the Siberian tribes of the same race. The Scandinavian Finns, as well as those of the White Sea, had probably undergone this change long before the time when they were visited by Utther, the guest of Alfred. When the Finns were conquered by the Swedes they had long been a settled people, but one of curious and singular character. The Lapps and Finns call themselves Suomi, and, in common with the inhabitants of Esthonia and Livonia, speak the Suomic branch of the Tshudic language. All the tribes speaking Tshudic dialects probably number about 4,000,000. That they all belong to the Arctic variety of the human species, is unquestionable; but whether they are all of the same race, admits of doubt. It would seem as if the Finns and Lapps belonged, at least in part, to distinct races; their physical, moral, and intellectual qualities differing very materially. The Lapp is distinguished for his obstinacy, suspicion, and childishness of feeling; the Finn for his energy and gloomy earnestness. "The man by his word, the ox by his horn," is a Finnic proverb. The Lapps consider it an honor to belong to the Finns; but the Finn regards the Lapp with the same contemptuous disdain as the Magyar looks down on the Slovak, or as the Norman regarded the Saxon; a feeling which would imply that at some remote period the Finns conquered the Lapps, who were probably the aborigines of Finland and Esthonia.†

The present Finns of Sweden and Norway are represented as having dark, coarse hair, sallow countenances, eyes extended lengthwise, and half-closed, sharp chins and elevated cheek-bones. The Laplander inhabits a region where wholesome food is far from being plentiful. His size is therefore gener-

* There is a striking coincidence between the civil institutions of the Magyars and those of the ancient Scandinavians; for instance, each of the fifty-five counties or districts into which Hungary is divided has its *Thing*, (county assembly,) at which public affairs are discussed as in ancient Scandinavia, by the *Thingsmen* of the district; a man possessing but a single acre of allodial land having the same vote and the same rights and privileges as the proprietor of the most extensive domains. The original appearance of the Magyars has been very much modified by intermixture with other races. They offer another instance where the Finnic stem produces gigantic men; for the Hungarian grenadiers and the national heydukes are of greater stature than any other nation of Europe.

† Blackwell's Remarks on Bishop Percy's Preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

ally diminutive, and his limbs are deficient in those proportions which are reckoned in other places essential to beauty. But notwithstanding the meanness of his appearance, the Laplander, from his manner of life, is hardy, robust, and strong beyond what his size would indicate. He is not only more hardy than the muscular Norwegian, but so much more strong, that the stoutest of his southern neighbors cannot bend his bow. It has been observed that the differences between the Laplanders and Finns in personal appearance, and the differences in each of these tribes according to their locality, are owing to their intermixture with other races.

In the remote places where there is little chance of intermixture, the Skiect-Finn or Laplander, nearly of pure Hyperborean blood, exhibits the Mongol type. But the Finlander with half Teutonic blood, or Slavonic, is in structure entirely a European. So readily does the Caucasian element predominate, that it becomes often doubtful whether any Mongolic blood can be observed externally.* But not only in physical appearance, but often in language, is the resemblance complete. The flexibility of the organs of speech in the Finnic race, and their aptitude for acquiring and speaking new languages, is such, that where their intercourse with the other races is great, they have lost their own language, and use only the Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, or Icelandic, which are all dialects of the old Norse. The same process is steadily going on in Iceland, where the Erse is only spoken in remote districts. The Finns still retain their own language where their geographical situation cuts them off from frequent communication with the Teutonic and Cimbric races. "Both the Lapland and Finnish languages," says Dr. Clarke,† "are pleasing to the ear, and admirably suited to poetry, owing to their plenitude of vowels. They constantly reminded us of the Italian; and we might cite several instances of words common to all the three. Acerbi, as an Italian, sometimes understood words used by the natives of Finland. Nothing can be softer or more harmonious than the sounds uttered by a Finland peasant, when reciting his Pater Noster. It is full of labials, nasals, open vowels, and diphthongs, and is destitute even of a single guttural." How unlike every dialect of the Celtic and Teutonic languages!

Since Russia appropriated Finland and half of Lapland from Sweden, the greater portion of these races belongs to the empire of "the Semiramis of the North." Tschutski and Finn

* Smith's Natural History of the Human Species, p. 322.
† Travels in Scandinavia.

are convertible terms in Northern Russia. Tschudi is the Russian name of Finland, and the true appellation of the ancient Scythians. An important consideration affects the condition of these arctic nations—namely, the fast decrease of the reindeer, both domestic and wild—threatening, at no distant period, to reduce the already miserable existence of the people to starvation, where no opportunities of migration to the South offer to improve their lot. The cause of this privation of almost the only source of subsistence in those dreary regions is not yet fully explained, although several tribes are already totally destitute of their domestic flocks. It may be that there, as in the arctic countries of North America, some law in nature is operating, in combination with the progress of civilized nations, to change the character of the high north, and leave it a desert, with scarcely a human tribe able to subsist upon it. Indeed, the only people must ultimately be the Esquimaux and Lapland fish-eating Hyperboreans—the sole remaining races of the beardless stock in those regions.

It would seem, then, that the basis of Scandinavian mythic lore and of institutions is Finnic—that the physical Jotun appear to have been the giant masters of the country, till they were vanquished by the Goths and Cimbri, and driven to rocks and caverns; affording a foundation for that dualism which afterwards appears in Scadinavian mythology. King Fornjoter, the progenitor of the Finnic people, was conquered; his altars overthrown by Thor, and his system of worship destroyed by the invaders; but there is nothing to disprove that the whole did not come from the east, the region whence their mythological kindred, the Jotun, are to arrive in the ship Negalfar, at the last day of the world's existence. The national *Runes** frequently reveal the hatred of the vanquished to their conquerors, and the hope that springs eternal in the human breast, that the day will come when the present order of things will be reversed in Scandinavia.

But whence have come the race or races which now control the destiny of that country, and have filled the world with their fame? From the historical records, already cited, they appear to be chiefly Teutones and Cimbri. About the origin of the Teutonic race there can be very little difficulty at the present day. The Teutones, Getæ, (Goths,) Vandalii, (Vandals) Germanii, Allemanni, Saxons and Franks, and Hollanders, appear to be of the same stock, sometimes called

* The Runes are the ancient alphabetical characters found on wood and stone in Scandinavia. They number sixteen letters, and are entirely different from the Phœnician alphabet, from which the alphabets of Europe are derived. Odin is said to be the inventor. Thus, like the ancient Peruvians with their *quippus*, or system of knots, they recorded national events, though ignorant of the use of paper.

Germanic, sometimes Teutonic, and sometimes Gothic—all speaking dialects of the same mother language. But of the origin of the Cimbri, who are the principal element in the Scandinavain population, giving it a distinctive character, and separating it from the German nations by broad lines, there is great doubt whether it ought to be assigned to the Celtic or Gothic races, or whether it is a mixture of both, is not very clearly established. It seems only certain that the Cimbri came from Scythia, and hence they are sometimes called Celto-Scythians. But that leaves us in the dark as to the race just as much as ever. There is not a vaguer term in ancient geography than that of Scythia. Taken in its most extensive signification, it would embrace all the countries between the present river Don in the west, the great desert of Gobi in the east, the Hindoo Kosh mountains in the south, and the plains of Siberia in the north. These boundaries might be limited or extended to suit any particular theory, as the region was to the Greeks and Romans *terra incognita*. There is not a race, therefore, in Europe, that has not been called Scythian. This confusion of ideas, which so long prevailed, arose from writers applying the term "Scythians" ethnographically instead of geographically, to designate a distinct race, such as the Teutons, Slavonians, Celts, and not an assemblage of nations of various origin, such as are comprehended in the word "Europeans." Hence, therefore, when Mallet says of the Cimbri, "we observe a nation issuing step by step from the forests of Scythia," he says nothing to the purpose. Strabo* informs us that the old Greek writers gave all the northern nations the common name of Scythians or Celto-Scythians; while the Germanic are mentioned by Herodotus as a Persian people.† For a long time the Roman writers confounded Celts, Goths, and Slavonians. Zosimus, an historian of the third century, includes them all under the common name of Scythians. Cluverius, Keysler, and Pelloutier, distinguished writers, have supposed the ancient Gauls and Germans, the Britons and Saxons, to have been all originally one and the same people.‡ Pelloutier, in particular, expended immense erudition to prove this hypothesis; and it seems to have been acquiesced in generally, till Toland, an Irish writer, in his "History of the Druids," demolished it; and after him, Bishop Percy, an Irish bishop, in his preface to Mallet's Northern Antiquities. This error seems the more strange, as Cæsar, who was well acquainted with the Germans

* Strabo, Lib. xi. † Herod. in Clio.

‡ Philippi Cluveri Germaniæ antiquæ, &c. Lugduni Batav., 1616. Antiquitates selectæ septentrionales et Ceticæ, Auctore J. G. Keysler, Hannoveræ, 1720. Histoire des Celtes, par M. Simon Pelloutier. Haye, 1750.

and Gauls, who lived side by side, describes them as "differing in language, customs, and laws;"* whereas, Tacitus informs us that the language of the ancient Britons and Gauls was not very different—*sermo haud multum diversus.* Again, Suetonius tells us that Caligula, returning from his fruitless expedition against the Germans, in order to grace his triumph with an appearance of prisoners of that nation for want of real Germans, chose from among the Gauls such as were of very tall stature, whom he caused to let their hair grow long and to color it red, to learn the German language and adopt German names; and thus he passed them off for prisoners from Germany.†

In fact, the evidence is overwhelming, and the argument of Bishop Percy is perfectly satisfactory, as long as he confines himself to proving that the Germans and Gauls, Britons and Saxons, are different races. But when he attempts to prove that the Cimbri are a Gothic race, his logic is very far from conclusive. At the outset, he admits the difficulty of establishing his position, for he says: "Whether the ancient Cimbri and their confederates, the Teutones, who made the irruption into the Roman empire in the time of Marius, were a Celtic or a Gothic people, may perhaps admit of some disquisition." But as he proceeds he gains confidence, and refers to the language of the country and the names of places in proof of the Gothic origin of the people. As to the argument from language, in the absence of historical evidence, he might as well attempt to show that the ancient inhabitants of Normandy in France were Gauls or Celts, or of the same race with the other population of the country, because these Northmen dropped their own language and adopted that of France; or he might as well argue that the French Normans who conquered England were Saxons, because their descendants abandoned the French and adopted the English. It was a peculiarity of these Northmen to forget their own language and use the language of the country in which they settled. From the account given us by the Roman writers of the Cimbric invasion of Italy, it appears that the Cimbri were accompanied by the Teutones. Now, the probability is, that the Teutones and other Gothic tribes had been in possession of Scandinavia before the Cimbri arrived, and that the latter subjugated the other population of the country, but adopted the Gothic language, just as the French descendants of the Cimbri afterwards did when they conquered the Saxon race in England. As to the argument about few Celtic names not being found in Jutland, and that if the Cimbri were Celts, at least the hills,

* De Bell. Gall., lib. vi. † Sueton. Calig., cap. 47.

forests, rivers, &c., would have retained their old Celtic names, as in England, it is a begging of the question, for it assumes that the Cimbri were the first inhabitants of the country, whereas Tacitus* says the Germans are the aborigines of Northern Europe. Probably it will be found that many of the names of hills, rivers, and mountains in Scandinavia are neither German nor Celtic, but Finnish in their derivation.

It is, therefore, by no means certain that the Cimbri were a Gothic or Teutonic race. The probability is that they were, like the English, a race of mingled blood, both Celts and Goths.†

The same difference of opinion exists as to the Belgæ, whom most writers regard as Germans, while others consider them a different race. But Cæsar, whose historical verity stands so high in everything relating to Gaul, shows that the Belgæ are neither Celts nor Germans. He says:

"All Gaul is divided into three parts: one of which the Belgæ inhabit; the Aquitani another; those who, in their own language, are called Celts, but in ours Gauls, the third. All these differ from each other in language, customs, and laws. The Belgæ are the bravest, because they are furthest from the civilization and refinement of our province, and merchants least frequently resort to them and import those things which tend to effeminacy, and they are the nearest to the Germans, who dwell beyond the Rhine, with whom they are continually waging war; for which reason also the Helvetii also surpass the rest of the Gauls in valor, as they contend with the Germans in almost daily battles, when they either repel them from their own territories, or themselves wage war on their frontiers."‡

Thus it may be seen that Cæsar distinguishes the Belgæ both from the Germans and the Gauls. But in a subsequent part of the same work he says the Belgæ were, for the most part, originally sprung from the Germans, but that, having crossed

* De Moribus Germanorum. † Cæsar's Commentaries, Bell. Gall., lib. i., cap. 1.

‡ Mr. Laing treats with deserved severity those who claim a general superiority for the Teutonic over the Celtic race. He regards it as "the echo of the bray first heard on the Ossianic Controversy." He says: "The black hair, dark eye, and dusky skin of the small-sized Celt, were considered by these philosophers to indicate an habitation for souls less gifted than those which usually dwell under the yellow hair, blue eye, and fair skin of the bulky Goth. This conceit has been revived of late in Germany and in America; and people talk of the superiority of the Gothic, Germanic or Anglo-Saxon race, as if no such people had ever existed as the Romans, the Spaniards, the French—no such men as Cæsar, Buonaparte, Cicero, Montesquieu, Cervantes, Ariosto, Raphael, Michael Angelo. If the superiority they claim were true, it would be found not to belong at all to that branch of the one great northern race which is called Teutonic, Gothic, Germanic, or Anglo-Saxon—for that branch in England was, previous to the settlements of the Danes or Northmen in the 10th or 11th centuries, and is at this day throughout all Germany, morally and socially degenerate, and all distinct and distinguishing spirit or nationality in it dead; but to the small cognate branch of the Northmen or Danes, who between the 9th and 12th centuries brought their paganism, energy, and social institutions to bear against, conquer, mingle with, and invigorate the superstitious, inert descendants of the old Saxon race."*

* The Heimskringla, or Chronicle of the Kings of Norway. By Samuel Laing.

the Rhine, at an early period they had settled in that part of Gaul, and had driven out the natives; and that they were "the only people who, in the memory of our fathers, when all Gaul was overrun, had prevented the Teutones and the Cimbri from entering their territories."* From this it would appear that the Belgæ, at the time of settling in Gaul, had a very large proportion of German blood in their veins, but that, in process of time, they became mixed with the Gallic tribes, and every day became more unlike their German ancestors. According to a modern writer of distinction, the name Belgæ belongs to the Kymric idiom, in which, under the form *Belgiadd*, the radical of which is *Belg*, it signifies warlike.†

Percy admits that Sallust, Appian, and Rufus call the Cimbri Celts and Gauls;‡ and what is still more strongly relied on, that the ancient Britons, who were undoubtedly Celts, called themselves Cymri. It is not true, however, that all the ancient Britons so called themselves. The Welsh did, and do so call themselves to this day; but the question arises, Are the Welsh Celts? In other words, are they of the same race as the Gauls in Britain and France and the Irish and the Highlanders of Scotland? Until very recently it was assumed that the Welsh language was a dialect of the Erse, and that the people of Ireland and the inhabitants of Wales were the same race. But closer investigation refutes that opinion. Modern Irish and Welsh scholars have shown that the languages are entirely different, not more than one word in every fifteen being alike, and even then the pronunciation and meaning being different. The construction of the two languages is very dissimilar. Sir William Bentham, who has devoted great research to the subject, observes, "that the true origin of the Gauls and Britons has remained so long a mystery, may chiefly be attributed to two notions which have prevailed to an extraordinary extent." They are the following:

"The first is, that universally admitted axiom that the Welsh are the genuine descendants of the Roman Britons, who retired into Wales on the fall of the Roman Empire, and there preserved their language and independence.

"The second is, that there is little difference between the Welsh and the Irish language, both being considered branches of the Celtic.

"Neither of these propositions is true; the Welsh are not the descendants of the ancient Roman Britons, and there are not, perhaps, two languages less similar in their construction than the Welsh and Gaelic."§

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* De Bell. Gall., lib. ii., cap. 4. † Amadée Thierry, Hist. des Gaul, I., p. xxxvii.
‡ Sallust, Bell. Jugurth. in fine. Appianus, Ἱστορία Ῥωμαϊκη, lib. 4. Rufus, cap. vi.
§ The Gael and Cymbri. By Sir William Bentham. P. 142.

Rev. Peter Roberts, in his translation of Jeoffrey of Monmouth's "Chronicle of the Kings of Britain," bears similar testimony; and as he is a learned Welsh scholar, his testimony is of weight. He says identity of race "can be inferred only from identity of language, customs and laws, but more especially from that of language, as the other two are often adopted. Since, therefore, the languages of the Cymry and Gael are perfectly distinct, they must be distinct nations." He adds: "In the first nine columns of the Irish dictionary printed by Lhuyd, in his Archæologia, there are four hundred words, of which I have not been able to discover more than twenty in common to both languages. Moreover, the grammatical structure as to the declension and construction are *radically* different. The Welsh, though abundant in radical words and copious in compounds, has left but few radical synonyms; the Gael, if I may judge from the dictionaries, abounds with them; a circumstance which proves that the Gael must have had intimate intercourse with other nations,* and that the Cimbri had met on their way thither." * * * "From these circumstances I am persuaded that the Cymry and Gael (or Celtæ) are distinct nations; and they seem to me to have come by distinct routes to Britain; the Cymry from the north, and the Gael by a route to the south of Mount Hæmus and the Alps." Mr. Roberts is the first Welsh writer who boldly and honestly upset all the pretensions of his countrymen to be the Britons of Cæsar's day, who are distinctly stated by Herodotus, Cæsar, and Tacitus to have been the same people as the Gauls, and consequently Celts. Tacitus, moreover, affirms that the first Celtic immigrations to Europe were "made by sea, in ships," while he considered "the Germans an indigenous race, and the original natives of the country." To these considerations it may be added, that the Welsh were ignorant of the religion of the Druids, common to the Celts of Britain, Ireland and Gaul; and if they had been the Britons of the country under the Roman sway, they would have carried with them to the mountains the institutions, language, and religion of the Britons, if not the civilization, laws, and customs of the Romans.

Bentham holds that the Welsh are the Caledonian Picts, that they are of German extraction, and that they inhabited the country before the Celts arrived. On the arrival of the Phœnician Gaelic (or Celtic) colony, they called the inhabitants Britons, or painted people, which, in Latin, is Picti, or Picts, from the fact of their staining their bodies.† Tacitus says of

* A strong corroboration of the Phœnician origin of the Gael, the Phœnicians being the great commercial nation of antiquity.

† It is worthy of remark that the Welsh called their princes *Bridii*, or painted. "These Britons," says Buchanan, "the *Avii* in Germany, and the Agathyrsi

the Caledonians who occupied the north of Great Britain, "the ruddy hair and lusty limbs of the Caledonians indicate a German extraction;"* while of the inhabitants of the south of England he concludes that they were a colony of Celts from Spain, "from the olive tincture of their skin, the natural curl of their hair, and the situation of the country so convenient to the coast of Spain." "You will find," he adds, "in both nations the same religious rites and the same superstition. The two languages differ but little."

Mr. Chalmers, in his "Caledonia," quotes from Eumenius, an orator who flourished about the year 300, the expression, *Caledones aliique Picti*—"the Caledonians and other Picts,"—thus regarding the Caledonians and Picts as the same people. Towards the conclusion of the fourth century Ammianus Marcellinus also wrote of them as the same people: "*Eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi Di-Caledones et Vecturiones.*"† "The former inhabited the western coast, and were separated from the latter by the mountains." Mr. Chalmers thus concludes: "That the Picts were Caledonians, we have thus seen in the mention of classic authors during three centuries; that the Caledonians were the North Britons who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampian, we know from the nature of events and the attestation of Tacitus."

Dr. Macpherson, in his Dissertation on the Ancient Caledonians, says: "It was an established tradition a thousand years ago, that the Picts were *the original inhabitants of the northern division of Britain.*" Bede says, in his Ecclesiastical History, "that they came to Caledonia from Scythia, the European part of which, according to Pliny, comprehends Germany. The authority of the venerable writer was never questioned on this head, and a belief has ever obtained that the Picts were a different race from the Gauls who possessed the southern parts of Britain.‡ Camden, "the Pausanias of England," who wrote three centuries ago, says that authors have given but small information about the language of the Picts, but that it seems to have been the same with the Welsh,§ and then cites the names of various Scotch towns and counties to show the identity of the languages, such as Murray, Merne, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Strathbolgy, Strathdu, and Strathern. In addition to the observations of Camden about the Welsh

painted their bodies; but it was to render them more terrible in battle that they stained themselves with the juice of herbs." The process was puncturing with a sharp iron instrument and rubbing into the wound the juice of herbs, (madder,) which makes an indelible stain, such as sailors are in the habit of making on their arms.

* Life of Agricola.
† Ammian. Marcell., lib. xxvii., c. 7.
‡ Section xii.
§ Camden's Britannia.

language apparent in the Scotch names, we may refer to the County of Cumberland, in the north of England, on the borders of Scotland. It plainly bears the name of the Cymbri or Cumreag—"the land of the Cymbri." It was one of their first conquests from the Roman province after passing the wall. The province of Cumbria, in Scotland, is still more to the point. Of that, the capital was *Caer al Cluid*, which, according to some, is Dumbarton, and others Glasgow. This is the first district in which the Cymbri settled, and they gave it their own name Cymbria, since changed to Cumbria, the English U having the sound of the Welsh Y. It is well known that in this region was the theatre of the acts of the Welsh Prince Arthur, and that his name is more celebrated in Scotland than in Wales, many places being called after him, as "Arthur's Seat," near Edinburgh. The Welsh themselves say they came from Scotland, and that they were the same people as the Strathcluyd Britons, who were Picts. The disappearance of the Picts from Scotland and from history is contemporaneous with the appearance of the Cymbri in Wales. The inference is clear. After the Roman legions withdrew from Britain, a colony of Picts advanced southward and conquered Cornwall and Wales, and extended their conquests even into Armoric Gaul, to which they gave the name of Brittany, from Britain. The Picts who remained behind in Scotland were assailed by the Gael, or Scots as they were called, of the western mountains of North Britain, until they were completely exterminated by Kenneth MacAlpine, and but for their colonies in Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany, their descendants would not now exist, and the name of Cymbri would have disappeared from the earth.* Hence it will be found that Bishop Percy is in error, in classifying the Cornish and Armorican as dialects of the Irish.† They are dialects of the Welsh, and the people are not Celts, but Cymbri.

The history of the early colonization of Ireland confirms these views. Three nations in succession have possessed Ireland—the Firbolgs, the Tuath de Danans, and the Gael or Milesians. The original inhabitants, the Firbolgs, after some centuries of possession, are said to have been exterminated or expelled by the Tuath de Danans, who in their turn were driven out by the Gael, whose descendants were in possession at the time of the English invasion by Henry II. in the 12th century. In the Firbolgs, we recognize the Belgæ, who occupied the greater part of northern Gaul in the time of

* Bentham's Gael and Cymbri, p. 415.

† All that remains of the ancient Celtic language is the Irish in Ireland, the Erse in the Highlands of Scotland, and the Manks in the Isle of Man.

Cæsar, and previously all Gaul and Britain. According to Augustin Thierry, the Belgæ settled on the east coast of England, and oppressed the country for four hundred years, till they were driven out by the Romans.* From Ireland the first invaders were ejected by the Zuath de Danans, who are said to have come from the land of Loghlin, or Denmark, as the name indicates, and passed over in the first instance to the north of Scotland. These men seem to be the Cimbric ancestors of the Picts and Caledonians and the Welsh, to whom the Gael gave the name of northmen, while they called themselves Cimbri. The immense hordes which the Cimbri poured into Gaul is an example of their manner of proceeding, and accounts for the destruction of the entire Belgic population, and the instantaneous and complete occupation of the two islands of Britain and Ireland by an innumerable multitude of people. That they possessed both Britain and Ireland on the arrival of the Gael, would appear by their name of Britons, which is Gaelic, and was given on account of the habit of painting their bodies, as before mentioned. The Gael or Scoti† were a Celtic colony from Phœnicia, and landed in Ireland under Milesius, driving out the Danes or Cimbri. They finally emigrated to the north of Scotland, and drove out all that remained of the Cymbri, after they had colonized Wales. If, then, the ancient Cimbri are identical with the Picts and Caledonians of Scotland and the Cymbri of Wales, it would seem that they are neither Gothic nor Celtic in their origin. Their old language has no affinity with either. Who the Cymbri were, will perhaps remain for ever unknown. The Gael of Spain, Britain, and Gaul were conquered by the Romans, and being amalgamated with the conquerors, their history and traditions were totally obliterated, and themselves as a separate people entirely lost; no vestige remaining but the names given by them to countries, peoples, mountains, &c., with some prominent features of their character handed down by Greek and Roman writers. The Irish and Welsh having never been subjugated to the Roman power, remained unmixed specimens of ancient nations, with their language, customs, and religion. Of the Phœnicians we are well informed by the ancient classic writers of Greece and Rome. But of the Cimbri there are no historical monuments which go further back than the arrival of Odin, which Torfæus places about seventy years before

* Norman Conquest, book i., p. 4.

† Scoti is said to be the same as Scythæ, the *c* being hard like *k*, as if written skutæ. But Bentham contends that they were so called from the Celtic word *scuïte*, a mariner, derived from *scud*, a ship, indicating the Phœnician and commercial origin of the Irish Celts.

Christ.* All that passed in Scandinavia before that time would have been entirely unknown to us, but for the single gleam of light which is thrown upon the darkness by the Roman historians, in their accounts of the Cimbric invasion of Gaul and Italy.

But whatever may be the origin of this ancient people, it is certain that it has left its "footprints in the sands of time." Its "sea-kings" were long the terror of Europe. Its maritime expeditions are the most successful on record. Like the Greeks, the sea was their element, but even their shortest voyages bore them much farther from their native shores than the boasted expedition of the Argonauts. Their familiarity with the perils of the ocean, and with the diversified manners and customs of foreign lands, stamped their national character with bold and original features, which distinguished them from every other people. The sublime grandeur of the natural scenery of their country must have also influenced the national character of the Scandinavians, and given inspiration to their poetry.

> Wild the Runic faith,
> And wild the realms where Scandinavian chiefs
> And Skalds arose, and hence the Skald's strong verse
> Partook the savage wildness.

Their passion for arms was intense, and was nurtured by all their institutions. They looked upon war as an act of justice, and esteemed force an incontestable title over the weak; a visible mark that God had intended to subject them to the strong. Hence they gave the name of the *Divine Judgment* not only to the Judiciary Combat, but to battles and conflicts of all kinds; victory being in their opinion the only certain mark by which Providence enables us to distinguish those whom it has appointed to rule others. "Valor," says a northern warrior, quoted by Tacitus, "is the only proper goods of men. The gods range themselves on the side of the strongest."† In an ancient Icelandic poem, a Scandinavian, to assure himself of a person's good faith, requires him to swear "by the shoulder of a horse and the edge of a sword." Religion, by annexing eternal happiness to the military virtues, gave an extraordinary impulse to the martial ardor of the Northmen. It assigned a paradise called Valhalla to all heroes, like the Mohammedan faith and the religion of the North American Indians. Hence Odin may be regarded with truth as the

* There is, in truth, no reliable Scandinavian history beyond the ninth century. All before that time is traditional, and so mixed up with fable, that it is impossible to separate the chaff from the wheat. As for the period of the arrival of Odin with his conquering *Asen*, (Asiatics,) Carlyle observes: "Far, very far beyond the year 70, Odin's date, adventures, whole terrestrial history, figure and environment, are sunk from us for ever into unknown thousands of years."

† Tacitus, Hist., lib. iv., c. 17.

Mahomet of Scandinavia. The duel is one of their institutions, which they introduced into the other countries of Europe. All through Scandinavia a man was provoked to fight a duel by publicly calling him "niding," or an infamous coward—the same provocation as giving the lie in modern times. To make the matter more formal, there was a custom of setting up in the ground the "nithing-stake," a hazel twig, and applying the epithet at the same time.* Most of the laws and customs which prevailed in Scandinavia were transplanted in other countries by the colonies which settled in them. In Iceland they were brought to a remarkable degree of perfection. Their institutions followed the Danes into England, where they were revived by Alfred and Canute, after having nearly fallen into desuetude amidst the wars and revolutions that incessantly convulsed the kingdom. The chairing of mayors, members of Parliament, and other public functionaries, is derived from an ancient practice in Sweden of lifting the king immediately after his election on the shoulders of the chiefs, in order that all the people might see and recognize his person. The Northmen carried their native usages into France, and saw them incorporated by Rollo into the legislation of his new duchy. Even the famous "hue and cry," *(clameur de haro,)* so admirably adapted to preserve order in a barbarous community, by making a whole district responsible for all offences committed in the neighborhood, is traced to the Scandinavians. The curfew, which so long prevailed in England, was introduced by the Norman Conqueror. Spain, Italy and Sicily have retained vestiges of the judicial institutions introduced by the Northern adventurers; and the famous Saxon and Frisian law in Germany (one of the oldest literary monuments of the Teutonic nations) has been ascribed to Harald Blaatand.† Trial by jury, to which human liberty is so indebted, comes from the Scandinavians: whether we derive the institution from the ceremony of compurgation, in which twelve witnesses or compurgators asserted upon their oath the innocence of the accused party;‡ or to the practice at the Thing or Court held every spring, in which three magistrates or judges each summoned twelve assessors or doomsmen *(dóms-menn)* to sit with him to hear causes,§ in the court or

* Mallet, p. 154. † Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

‡ Sir Walter Scott, in his Abstract of the Eyrbyggja-Saga, being the early annals of a district of Iceland, gives an account of a trial before the popular assembly of a woman named Geirrida, for witchcraft. She was acquitted by the ceremony of compurgation; and Sir Walter says, "this formed, as is well known, the remote origin of the trial by jury."—*Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 521.

§ This appears to be the true origin of jury trial. The court was held in the open air. A circle was formed with hazel twigs or upright stones, to which were attached cords called vebond, to complete the circle. Within this circle sat the three

circle called the doomring, *(domkringr.)* Hence the Doomsday Book of William the Conqueror.

The names of four out of seven of the days of the week in our language are derived from the heathen mythology of Scandinavia. Tuesday is derived from Tir, the Mars of the Scandinavians, who presided over contests of all kinds. In the old Norse it is Tirsdagr; Swedish, Tisdag; Danish, Tirsdag; Anglo-Saxon, Tyvesdag. The Germans call it Dienstag, and the Dutch Dingsdag, which means suit-day or court-day, as it was upon this day that the Thing or court opened. The practice prevailed for some time in England, and in some states it is still continued. Wednesday means Odinsday, the day consecrated to the god of that name. The old Norse has it Odinsdagr; Anglo-Saxon, Wodensdæg. Thursday, consecrated to the God Thor, is Thorsday; Old Norse, Thorsdagr; Anglo-Saxon, Thursdæg; German, Donnerstag; Dutch, Donderdag, (the Thunderer's day.) Thursday was rendered into Latin by *Dies Jovis*, Jove being the god of Thunder. Friday is the day of Frigga or Freyja, the wife of Thor, a goddess corresponding with the Venus of Greece and Rome. She was sometimes called Airtha, which, in English, is Earth, and worshipped as "the mother of the gods." The old English name of Christmas, (Yule,) with its burning log and all its curious rites and ceremonies, is directly borrowed from the Scandinavians, and intimately connected with their mythology.

During the eighth, ninth, and the tenth centuries, the seas were covered with the vessels of the Scandinavian pirates, variously called Danes or Northmen, according as they came from the islands of the Baltic Sea or the coast of Norway; and from one end of Europe to the other those countries now the most powerful became a prey to their depredations. The conversion of the Southern Teutons to the Christian faith had broken the bond of fraternity between them and the Teutons of the North. In the ninth century the Sons of Odin treated as apostates the Germans, who had become children of the Church. A sort of patriotic and religious fanaticism was thus

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judges and the doomsmen, three times twelve, or thirty-six in all. Any doomsman, to whom either plaintiff or defendant objected, was instantly replaced by the judge who had nominated him. As the court was held near the temple, the "altar-ring" was brought thence, on which every one engaged in the suit, whether plaintiff or defendant, witnesses or doomsmen, was obliged to swear "in the name of Frey, Njord, and the Almighty God," that he would act justly and fairly. By "the Almighty God" the Icelanders and Norwegians meant Thor, the Swedes and Danes Odin. In Eigil's Saga there is a graphic description of a Norwegian Thing, at which Queen Gunhilda, fearing that the verdict would be pronounced in favor of Eigil, caused one of her followers to cut the sacred cords, *(vebond,)* and thereby put a stop to the proceedings; cutting the cords being regarded as a profanation of the forensic circle, and as a crime that merited the severest punishment.—See *Mallet's Northern Antiquities*, p. 292. *Eigil's Saga*, and *Muller's Sagabib*, i., 115.

combined in the Scandinavians with the fiery impulsiveness of their character, and an insatiable thirst for plunder. They shed with joy the blood of the priests, and stabled their horses in the chapels of the palaces. When they had devastated and burned some district of the Christian territory, they mockingly said, "We have sung them the mass of lances; it commenced early in the morning, and lasted until night." The same chief commanded on the sea and on the land. The sea-king was only king at sea and on the battle-field. In the hour of the banquet there was no distinction, and the horn, filled with beer, passed from hand to hand. The sea-king was followed and obeyed because he was renowned as the bravest of the brave; as one who had never slept under a smoke-dried roof. Under such a chief the Scandinavian pirates pursued "the road of the swans," as their ancient national poetry expressed it.* They made incursions on the coasts of Livonia, Courland, and Pomerania. During the space of two hundred years they almost incessantly ravaged England, and frequently subdued it and ruled it. As early as the year 852 they sailed up the Thames with an expedition of 350 ships, plundering Canterbury and London.† They finally, as Danes, settled in the country, where, as we have seen, a colony of their ancestors, under the name of Cymbri, had settled many centuries before. The Danes also visited Scotland and Ireland, but were driven out of the latter country by Brian Boru, in a great decisive battle at Clontarf, near Dublin.‡

* Thierry's Norman Conquest.

† Sharon Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

‡ The first appearance of the Danish invaders on the coast of Ireland was referred by Usher to the year 797, in which they landed on the island of Rathlin, adjacent to its northern shore. In the following year they effected a landing on the western coast of Munster. Though the invaders are all called Danes, they appear from the Irish accounts to have consisted of different races. One tribe was named Leth-Manni, and is supposed to have been composed of Livonians, the country of these people having been named Letten; others were named Fionne-Gail and Dubh-Gail, the words *fionne* and *dubh* signifying respectively *white* and *black*. The fair, perhaps the Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. But who were the dark race? Were they not Celts? It was by these visits to Ireland, as well as from the Irish who first settled Iceland, that Scandinavia received its first lessons in modern civilization. It is said that Scandinavia received from Ireland its earliest knowledge of literature and Christianity, and Denmark and Norway its *Scalds*, or bardic chroniclers. It is admitted by the historians of Norway and Denmark, that the *Scalds* were introduced into those countries from Iceland, that the first settlers of Iceland were Irish, that the first churches were erected there by Irish monks, and that letters still named *Ivd, Citur*, were brought thither from Ireland. It is particularly mentioned that the first Norwegian settlers in Iceland found there Irish books. It is agreed that Iceland was not inhabited before the year 874, at which time the Danes, possessing themselves of some of the maritime places of Ireland, drove out the inhabitants, a portion of whom settled in Iceland. Thus the barbarous incursions of the Danes appear to have operated circuitously to the refinement of their own country. Poets among the Irish were named *Scealuidhe*, or narrators of events, from which, according to the most eminent philologers, the Scandinavian *Scald* is derived.*

* See O'Conor, Epist. Nuncup., pp. 26, 27.

They extended their operations to the Black Sea. They ravaged the towns and coasts of ancient Russia, peopled by colonies of Slavonic origin. In the ninth century, or, more accurately, in the year 862, Rurick, leading a Swedish colony, took possession of the principal of these towns, Novgorod, and became the founder of the Russian empire, and the ancestor of a long line of princes, whose dynasty flourished for upwards of seven hundred years. It is worthy of remark, that by the battle of Pultowa, fought by Charles XII. of Sweden with the Russians in 1709, the Scandinavians lost the dominion of the North, and it passed over to their old colony. When the Scandinavians obtained a footing in Russia, they infested the shores of the Black Sea, and appeared before Constantinople itself, levying tribute from the degenerate emperors. Alexis, indeed, took a band of them into his pay as his body-guard. But these rovers plundered the palaces as well as guarded them; and we know that Harald, who commanded this guard, amassed a treasure from this plunder, as well as from the booty he obtained in his campaign against the Saracens, which enabled him to marry the daughter of the Russian Czar, and gain possession of the throne of Norway. An account of one of their expeditions to the Caspian Sea during the reign of Rurick's son, Igor, has come to us. In this expedition they carried their light barks across the country on rollers from one river to another—from the Don to the Volga—as they frequently did in England and France. They carried their arms into Spain, and even made themselves dreaded in Italy and Greece. In 844 a band of these sea-rovers sailed up the Guadalquiver and attacked Seville, of which they soon made themselves masters. The Moorish king, hearing what happened, sent down a fleet against them from Cordova, and a sanguinary conflict took place between the followers of Odin and Mahomet, both excited to the highest pitch by the spirit of fanaticism—the votaries of one prophet beholding in vision, as his reward, the joys of Valhalla, and those of the other the dark-eyed Houris of the Mohammedan Paradise waving their green kerchiefs in welcome to those who braved death. This seems to be the first time the Moors came in contact with the Northmen, whom they believed to be a nation of magicians. The Northmen succeeded in carrying off with them the spoils of the city and many fair captives.*

Already feared before the time of Charlemagne, they became still more terrible after his death. He is known to have shed tears on hearing that they had defied his name and baffled all

* Depping, *Histoire des Expéd. Maritimes des Normands*, liv. ii., chap. 2.

the precautions he took to arrest their ravages. He foresaw what his people would suffer under his feeble successors.* They soon spread like a devouring flame over Lower Saxony, Friesland, Holland, Flanders, and the banks of the Rhine as far as Mentz. They penetrated into the heart of France, having long before laid waste its coasts. They found their way up the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, the Garonne, and the Rhone. Within a period of thirty years they frequently pillaged and burned Paris, Amiens, Orleans, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Nantes and Tours. They settled in Camargue at the mouth of the Rhone, whence they ravaged Provence and Daupheny as far as Valence. In short, they ruined France, levied immense tribute on its monarchs, consumed the palace of Charlemagne at Aix-la-Chapelle, and finally caused one of the finest provinces of the kingdom to be ceded to them—Neustria, to which they gave the name of Normandy.

Rollo having laid siege to Paris, received this province from Charles the Simple, in purchase of peace, in perpetuity to himself and his posterity as a feudal duchy dependent on the crown of France. This famous treaty by which Charles agreed to give his daughter Gisele in marriage, upon condition that he would do homage for it and embrace the Christian religion, was concluded at St. Clair, A. D. 912. A description of the interview between Charles and this new duke gives us a curious picture of the manners of the Normans. Rollo would not take the oath of fealty in any other way than by placing his hands in those of the king, and absolutely refused to kiss his feet, as custom then required. It was with great difficulty he was prevailed on to allow one of his warriors to perform this ceremony in his stead; but the officer to whom Rollo deputed the service suddenly raised the king's foot so high that he overturned him on his back—a piece of rudeness which was only laughed at; to such a degree were the Normans feared and Charles despised.†

Normandy was well governed by its new duke, and became a prosperous province. But it was too small for the ambition and aspirations of the descendants of the sea-rovers. The Normans set out on a pilgrimage to Southern Italy, under pre-

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* See Michelet's History of France, book i., chap. 2, who quotes the Emperor's words, as follows: "Scitis, o fideles mei, quid tantopere ploraverim? Non hoc timeo quod istis nugis mihi aliquid nocere prævaleant; nimium contristor quod, me vivente, ausi sunt littus istud attingere; et maximo dolore torqueor, quia prævideo quanta mala posteris meis et eorum sint facturi subjectis."

† Mallet's Northern Antiquities, p. 185. Robert Wace, in his *Roman de Rou*, thus says:

Le roi enversa tut arière
De ce fu ris à grant manière.

tence of driving out the Saracens. The Pope led some Italians and Germans against them; but after a faint resistance his army ran away and left him a prisoner in the hands of the Normans, who exacted from him as a fief of the Church the Two Sicilies—a scene which was re-enacted in a century after, when a descendant of one of these Normans made another Pope prisoner, and forced him to receive his homage and declare himself and his successors legates of the Holy See in Sicily. Robert L'Avise *(Guiscard)* completed the conquest of Southern Italy, and made himself Duke of Apulia and Calabria, while his younger brother Roger wrested the island of Sicily from the Arabs, and a descendant of his united Southern Italy to his insular dominion, and so founded the kingdom of the Two Sicilies, known in modern times as Naples.

It was Normandy, and a successor of its first duke, Rollo, that in 150 years after his conquest, gave England the first of a new line of kings, and the blood of the bastard Northman, son of "Robert the Devil," still flows in the veins of its sovereigns. Nor is this all: William the Conqueror divided the land of the Saxons between his sixty thousand followers, and they hold it to this day, while this class and their institutions rule the kingdom, making it the most powerful and stable in Europe. William introduced a new principle into the feudal system, upon which Michelet remarks: "Whatever the evils with which the conquest may have been attended, its result, in my opinion, was of immense service to England and to mankind. For the first time there was a government. The social bond, loose and floating in France and Germany, was tightly strung in England. The barons, few in number, and in the midst of a whole people whom they oppressed, were obliged to array themselves around the king. William received the oath of the *arrière* vassals, as well as that of the vassals. Now the vassals of the King of France did ready homage to him; but had he gone to the Duke of Guyenne or the Count of Flanders, and demanded that the barons and knights dependent on either should do him, not them, homage, he would have fared very differently. But in this lay the germ of the whole; a monarchy which depended on the homage of the great vassals alone was purely nominal. Removed by its elevation in the political hierarchy from those lower ranks in which dwelt the true strength of the nation, it remained solitary and weak at the top of the pyramid, while the great vassals, placed between the two extremes, rested firmly upon the powerful base."* This explains why it is that the French monarchy fell, while the

* Translation by Smith, vol. i., p. 203.

English has survived for eight hundred years. It is worthy of remark, that it was not by arms alone the Saxons were conquered. The Normans had long intrigued in England, and had supplied it with bishops and civil office-holders. "The Anglo-Saxons," says William of Malmesbury, "had long before the arrival of the Normans neglected the study of letters and religion. The priests could scarcely stammer out the words of the sacraments, and were all astonished if any one of them were acquainted with grammar." Thus was the pear ripe for William and his barons, who were educated men. "Their predilection lay towards Roman and ecclesiastical civilization. We discern in them as early as the tenth and eleventh centuries, that character—compound of scribe and legist—which has rendered their name proverbial in Europe. A compound of audacity and of stratagem; conquerors and chicaners, like the ancient Romans; knights, shaven like the priests, and good friends of the priests, (at the beginning at least,) they made their fortune by the church and despite of the church. They made it by the lance of Judas, too."* The Normans furnish a remarkable instance of how completely a people may lose their own language, and even the language they adopt in its stead. "They were a mixed race, in whom the Neustrians predominated by far over the Scandinavian element. Undoubtedly, as seen on the Bayeux tapestry, with their scale-armor, peaked casques, and nose-pieces, one would be tempted to believe these iron fish the pure and lawful descendants of the old pirates of the North. However, they spoke French from the third generation, at which period not one among them understood Danish. They were obliged to send their children to learn it of the Saxons of Bayeux. The names of William the Bastard's followers are pure French. The conquerors of England, says Ingulphus, abhorred the Anglo-Saxon tongue."† Yet in two or three generations it became their mother tongue; and so continues to the present time.

The effect of language in uniting nationalities or severing them, has received a remarkable illustration in the case of the Normans. The Danes and Norwegians maintained relations of alliance and affection with Normandy so long as they found in the resemblance of language the token of an ancient national fraternity. But when the use of the French became universal in Normandy, the Scandinavians ceased to look upon the Normans as natural allies; they even ceased to give them the

* Michelet and William of Malmesbury. † Idem.

name of Normans, and called them Frenchmen.* Michelet accounts for the Northmen losing their language in this way: The Saxon emigrants, who, from the fourth to the sixth centuries, established themselves on the left bank of the Rhine and in England, have left their language there. The petty Saxon colony of Bayeux preserved their own tongue for at least 500 years. On the contrary, the Northmen of the ninth and tenth centuries adopted the speech of the people among whom they settled. Their kings did not introduce their language into Russia and France. The reason of the distinction is, that the first invasions consisted of whole families; not only the warriors, but their wives and children. Thus they were not blended with the conquered, but preserved the purity of their language and race; whereas the later invasions of the Scandinavian pirates appear to consist of the most part of "exiles, banished men who aspired to be sea-kings, for lack of land whereon to reign." "Furious wolves, whom hunger had driven from their paternal lair, they landed alone and without families; and when they were satiated with plunder, when by dint of annual visitations they had come to look upon the land which they pillaged as their own country—these new Romuluses repeated the tale of the Sabine women. They took wives, and the children of course spoke the language of their mothers."†

Nor were the expeditions of the Northmen confined to Europe. These daring adventurers were the first discoverers of America. In 982, Eirek being sentenced to banishment from Iceland, set sail towards the west in search of a coast that had been recently descried by a Norwegian navigator. His voyage proved successful. He discovered Greenland, and when the period of his banishment expired, he returned home and brought out with him, in 986, a number of settlers who colonized the country. A full account of these voyages and of the remains of the Northmen left in Greenland, including the runic inscriptions on stones, will be found in the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, edited at Copenhagen, by the learned Professor Rafn.

To discuss the religion and literature of the ancient Scandinavians, including an account of their Eddas, Sagas, Scalds, and Runes, together with their arts, laws, manners, and customs, would far exceed the limits of this article, and would require a separate paper—a task which we may undertake at a future day.

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* Thierry's Norman Conquest. † Michelet's History of France, vol. i., chap. 3.

ART. IX.—*The Social Condition and Education of the People of England.* By JOSEPH KAY, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, Barrister at Law, &c., &c. 12mo, pp. 323. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

A LARGE proportion of the contents of this volume is truly startling. We would fain hope that the graver statements which it contains are much exaggerated, for they are painful in the highest degree. But it is impossible to believe, on reflection, that so many witnesses of the highest respectability would allow their names to go before the public as bearing testimony to a state of facts which does not really exist. We do not, however, take up the book in any vindictive spirit; or with the view of pandering to the prejudices of any party, sect, or clique. In other words, we take no pleasure in exhibiting to public gaze the miseries of a large proportion of the working classes of England, because that country is a monarchy, or has institutions different from our own; nor shall we be actuated in doing so by the conduct of Great Britain towards this country since the present war commenced, however unfriendly that conduct has been. We are not in favor of monarchy; we have a decided preference for our own form of government. We think, moreover, that England has deserved the ill-will of the loyal States of the Union; but these are questions of a different character from those which are discussed in the volume before us; and we have no disposition to confound the former with the latter. If we have any motive in calling the attention of our readers to the appalling degradation of the English classes alluded to, further than to perform our duty as journalists, by giving publicity to facts of startling interest with which so few of our people are acquainted, it is to show to what incalculable miseries the neglect of education leads. It is as incumbent upon nations as it is upon individuals to profit by the experience of others; if that experience is good, it ought to be imitated as far as possible; if bad, it ought to serve as a warning. With these introductory remarks as a basis, we proceed to quote such passages as seem to give the best authenticated accounts of the condition of the laboring poor, both in England and Wales. The American editor introduces the work to us as follows:

"Some eighteen months passed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, during which time I visited all the great working centres, as well as many of the principal agricultural counties, convinced me that the great culture, refinement, and education of the higher classes of society were purchased at the cost of *utter degradation and brutality of the lower orders.* Having collected full evidence from official documents, from reports of various societies, and from the daily press, monthly and quarterly reviews, that my personal convictions were correct, I was

prepared to lay before general American readers a picture of English life sufficiently revolting to persuade the most skeptical among us that our political institutions, notwithstanding all their faults, should be guarded as invaluable, if estimated by comparison with the result of the past thirty years' workings of Great Britain's internal policy."

We confess that if we had no better authority than the author of this, however, we should pay little attention to his statements, for his prejudices betray themselves in almost every line he writes. The following passage from his preface will show that his eighteen "months passed in England, Scotland, and Ireland," had but little effect in teaching him to contemplate human misery, not as a citizen of any particular country, but as a citizen of the world. Some of his neighbors, who have evidently much more understanding than himself, (although they have, perhaps, never been half a mile from home,) have been telling him that our own large cities have not much to boast of in their morals, or habits. To this he replies as follows: "Meanwhile, however, two years have proved to my own satisfaction that the *mass of the brutality* in our seaboard cities is *an imported article;* and while we cannot hope to land our immigrants *pure and undefiled, when we know the source whence they are derived*, we can and do *raise their children from the mire*, and we know that our country is now rich in respectable citizens, whose parents were part and parcel of Great Britain's brutality—*citizens who would have been born to a dead-weight of hopeless, life-long degradation, had those parents never come to America.*"

It is not necessary to leave home for one month, in order to see that this is silly logic; it would be quite sufficient for that purpose to read and think a little at home. A few plain facts, known to most intelligent people, would show that it by no means follows that the offspring of immigrants who arrive here poor and wretched, would have been born on the other side of the Atlantic only to "a dead-weight of hopeless, life-long degradation," &c. Thus, for example, has our author ever heard of Lord Tenterdon, and of Sir Edward Sugden, both distinguished jurists, but the sons of barbers? It will hardly be pretended that the barbers belong to the English aristocracy; are they not rather of the lower class? Yet in these two instances at least—and we could mention several others—their sons were not born to "life-long degradation," although born on the east side of the Atlantic. But, perhaps, our philosopher will say, What of one or two lawyers? But Gibbon, the author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire—undoubtedly one of the greatest of modern historians—had been apprenticed to a common shoemaker. Still lower in the social scale than the shoemaker or the barber is the butcher. Yet

Mark Akenside, author of "The Pleasures of the Imagination," was a butcher's son. We could easily multiply instances of this kind among the highest ranks in England; but it is not necessary. The memory of every intelligent person will furnish him with at least sufficient to show that the sons of poor people may attain to eminence in other countries as well as in our own; we may add, however, that the illustrious Columbus, the discoverer of America, was but the son of a poor weaver, who at one time found considerable difficulty in earning the common necessaries of life for his family.

But all the editor has said one way or other is not much; and the charge of prejudice cannot be made against the author of the original work. "Mr. Kay," we are told, "was commissioned by the Senate of Cambridge University, England, to travel through Western Europe, to examine the comparative social condition of the poorer classes of the different countries." His book was published in London, in 1850, entitled "The Social Condition and Education of the People of Europe." Thus it will be seen that the work has a semi-official character. That the author was qualified for the task he has undertaken, might have been inferred from his appointment by so learned a body; and the inference is fully sustained by the report he has made. If Mr. Kay can be said to entertain prejudices against any country or people, it is against his own; but we believe he is perfectly honest and unbiased in his statements, and that his only object has been to ameliorate the condition of the poor by showing the world how shockingly wretched they are. Far from praising up his own country as a model to all others, and magnifying the evils of the latter, he has the manliness and candor to pass judgment as follows: "The poor of England are more depressed, *more pauperized, more numerous in comparison to the other classes*, more irreligious, and *very much worse educated* than the poor of any other European nation, solely *excepting Russia, Turkey, South Italy, Portugal, and Spain.*"—(P. 323.) This seems a bold assertion; but it is sustained by facts and figures which almost force the reader to accept it as indisputable truth. This would not have been the case had the author contented himself with giving us his own impressions, even of what he had been an eye-witness to; but throughout the book he brings upon the stand such witnesses as had the best opportunities of informing themselves on the subjects in regard to which they testify, and who could have had no interest in making false representations. Let us first turn to Mr. Kay's account of the frightful extent to which infanticide is carried among the poor of England; although the details are absolutely revolting:

"It appears that in our larger provincial towns the poor are in the habit of entering their children in what are called 'burial clubs.' A small sum is paid every year by the parent, and this entitles him to receive from £3 to £5 from the club on the death of the child. Many parents enter their children in several clubs. One man in Manchester has been known to enter his child in *nineteen* different clubs. On the death of such a child the parent becomes entitled to receive a large sum of money; and as the burial of the child does not necessarily cost more than £1, or, at the most, £1 10s., the parent realizes a considerable sum after all the expenses are paid!

"It has been clearly ascertained *that it is a common practice* among the more degraded classes of poor in many of our towns, to enter their infants in these clubs, *and then to cause their death, either by starvation, ill-usage, or poison! What more horrible symptom of moral degradation can be conceived?* One's mind revolts against it, and would fain reject it as a monstrous fiction. But, alas! it seems to be too true."—P. 82.

The author then proceeds to adduce official testimony in proof of his statements. The following extract, for example, is taken from the Sanitary Inquiry Report:

"Mr. Gardiner, the clerk to the Manchester Union, while registering the causes of death, deemed the cause assigned by a laboring man for the death of a child unsatisfactory, and staying to inquire, found that popular rumor assigned the death to wilful starvation. The child (according to a statement of the case) had been entered in at least *ten* burial clubs; *and its parents had had six other children, who only lived from nine to eighteen months, respectively.* They had received, from several burial clubs, £20 for *one* of these children, and they expected at least as much on account of this child. An inquest was held, at Mr. Gardiner's instance, when several persons who had known the deceased stated that she was a fine fat child shortly after her birth, but that she soon became quite thin, was badly clothed, and seemed as if she did not get a sufficiency of food."—P. 83.

From the mass of testimony, both official and private, on this painful subject, we take one more extract:

"In the other case, where the judge summed up for a conviction, the accused, the father, was, to the astonishment of every one, acquitted. In this case the body was exhumed after interment, and *arsenic was detected in the stomach.* In consequence of the suspicion raised upon the death, on which the accusation was made in the first case, the bodies of two other children were taken up and examined, when *arsenic was found in their stomachs.* In all these cases payments on the deaths of these children were insured from the burial clubs. The cost of the coffin and burial dues would not be more than about £1, and the allowance from the club is £3.

"It is remarked on these dreadful cases, by the superintendent registrar, *that the children who were boys, and therefore likely to be useful to the parents, were not poisoned;* the female children were the victims. It was the clear opinion of the medical officers that infanticides have been committed in Stockport to obtain the burial money."—P. 84.

Were these isolated cases they would not, bad as they are, excite so much horror; but it seems that such are quite com-

mon throughout England and Wales. In short, if we are to believe the statements of the local authorities and clergy, there is scarcely a parish in the whole island south of the Tweed, in which the crime of infanticide is not practised to a greater or less extent. If only illegitimate children were thus destroyed at their birth, or soon after, even the moralist might find some excuse for the offence; although nothing could justify it, the fear on the part of the mother of being exposed and disgraced might be regarded as an extenuating circumstance. But when married people deliberately starve or poison their children, either for the purpose of getting a little money, or in order to avoid their support, the state of degradation to which they must be reduced is low indeed. That such parents would kill as many of their neighbors as they could, if they got pay for it in a similar manner, need hardly be said; for fear of punishment would evidently be the only restraining motive.

We are assured that an utter want of female virtue is another prevailing characteristic among the same classes; but the English women are not so bad in this respect as the Welsh. If the latter are so devoid of shame as they are represented by their own countrymen, it may be doubted whether the women of any other country equal them in moral turpitude. The following is the testimony of the Rev. John Griffith, Vicar of Aberdare, in Central Wales:

"Nothing can be lower—I should say more degrading—than the character in which the women stand relative to the men. The men and women, married as well as single, live in the same house *and sleep in the same room.* The men do not hesitate to wash themselves naked before the women; on the other hand, the women do not hesitate to change their under garments before the men. Promiscuous intercourse is most common, is thought of as nothing, and the women do not lose caste by it."—P. 183.

Still worse, if possible, is the evidence of Rev. L. H. Davies:

"'They,' (the young people,) he says, 'often meet at evening schools, in private houses, and this tends to immoralities between the young persons of both sexes, who frequently spend the night afterwards in hay-lofts together. So prevalent is want of chastity among the females, that, although I promised to return the marriage fee to all couples whose first child should be born after nine months from the marriage, only one in six years entitled themselves to claim it. Most of them were in the family-way. It is said to be a customary matter for them to have intercourse together on condition that they should marry if the woman becomes pregnant; but the marriage by no means always takes place. Morals are generally at a low ebb, but want of chastity is the giant sin of Wales. I believe that the best remedy for the want of morals and of education is that of the establishment of good schools, such as I have described.'—Pp. 191-2.

We can only make room for one extract more in reference

to this truly barbarous state of things. The Rev. John Price, rector of Bledfa, and a magistrate, says:

"'Drunkenness is rare in this neighborhood, and the poorer classes are really honest, quiet, and industrious. The prevailing vice of the country is a disregard for chastity, *a breach of which is considered neither a sin nor a crime.* Apparently there is no disgrace attached to it; the women who have had *two or three illegitimate children are as frequently selected by the young men for their wives as those of virtuous conduct.*

"'Probably the chief causes of this disregard to modesty and chastity *may be referred, first, to the want of room in small farm-houses and cottages. Grown-up sons and daughters, and men and female servants, generally sleep in the same room.* Secondly, to the bad habit of holding meetings at dissenting chapels and farm-houses after night, where the youth of both sexes attend from a distance for the purpose of walking home together. As a magistrate, I can safely report that in the investigation of numerous cases of bastardy, I have found most of them to be referred to the opportunities of meeting above mentioned.'"—P. 195.

But enough—nay, indeed, too much; and yet we have selected these passages more for their comparative freedom from grossness than for the positive and circumstantial manner in which they describe the degradation of their countrymen and countrywomen. We do not mean that any of the gentlemen who thus give their opinions in so painful a matter evince any disposition to indulge in improper language; but that some have the faculty of describing the same scenes much more chastely, and at the same time more graphically, than others. The remark that "Poverty is no shame" has become a proverb in various countries; and it is certainly true in those instances in which poverty is accompanied by honesty and virtue. The only instance in which it can be said to be otherwise is when it is the result of idleness, which generally leads to vice as well as to poverty.

It is truly sickening to read of the pauperism and crime of the lower orders in England, as described in this book. As already intimated, the author seldom requires us to rely on his own statements. In speaking of juvenile "wretchedness" and crime in the metropolis, he quotes the *Quarterly Review*, as follows:

"Every one who walks the streets of the metropolis must daily observe several members of the tribe—bold, and pert, and dirty as London sparrows, but pale, feeble, and sadly inferior to them in plumpness of outline. Their business, or pretended business, seems to vary with the locality. At the West End they deal in lucifer matches, audaciously beg, or tell a touching tale of woe. Pass on to the central parts of the town—to Holborn, or the Strand, and the regions adjacent to them—and you will find the members very greatly increased; a few are pursuing the avocations, above mentioned, of their more Corinthian fellows; many are spanning the gutters with their

legs, and dabbling with earnestness in the latest accumulation of nastiness; while others, in squalid and half-naked groups, squat at the entrances of the narrow, fœtid courts and alleys, that lie concealed behind the deceptive frontages of our larger thoroughfares. Whitechapel and Spitalfields teem with them like an ant's nest; but it is in Lambeth and Westminster that we find the most flagrant traces of their swarming activity. There the foul and dismal passages are thronged with children of both sexes, and of every age from three to thirteen. Though wan and haggard, they are singularly vivacious, and engaged in every sort of occupation *but that which would be beneficial to themselves and creditable to the neighborhood.* Their appearance is wild: the matted hair, the disgusting filth, that renders necessary a closer inspection before the flesh can be discerned between the rags which hang about it, and the barbarian freedom from all superintendence and restraint, fill the mind of a novice in these things with perplexity and dismay. Visit these regions in the summer, and you are overwhelmed by the exhalation; visit them in the winter, and you are shocked by the spectacle of hundreds shivering in apparel that would be scanty in the tropics. Many are all but naked; those that are clothed are grotesque; the trowsers, where they have them, seldom pass the knee; the tail-coats very frequently trail below the heels. In this guise they run about the streets, and line the banks of the river at low water, seeking coals, sticks, corks, for nothing comes amiss as treasure trove. Screams of delight burst occasionally from the crowds, and leave the passer-by, if he be in a contemplative mood, to wonder and rejoice that moral and physical degradation has not yet broken every spring of their youthful energies."—Pp. 60, 61.

After showing the immense annual amount necessary to keep the pauper class from starving, the author asks, "Why is it that the Prussian, Saxon, Swiss, and French peasantry do not require nearly so much public relief as this? Because *they have been taught and enabled to help themselves*, and because they are *assisted*, and not *hindered*, by legislation, in their efforts to work out their own salvation." Now let us see what our author says of the connection between ignorance and crime. Before giving any views of his own on the subject, he presents us the following statistics, taken from the official returns of crime committed in England and Wales from 1836 to 1848:

Years.	Total No. of Persons committed for Crime.	No. who could neither read nor write.		No. who could read only, or read and write imperfectly.		No. who could read and write well.		No. who had received superior education.		No. whose instruction was not ascertained.	
		Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.	Males.	Fem.
1836	20,984	5,598	1,435	8,068	2,015	2,016	199	176	15	490	72
1837	23,672	6,684	1,780	10,147	2,151	2,057	177	98	3	421	94
1838	23,094	6,342	1,601	10,008	2,326	2,051	206	74	5	430	51
1839	24,443	6,487	1,709	10,523	2,548	2,201	261	74	4	546	90
1840	27,187	7,145	1,913	12,151	2,958	2,038	215	100	1	541	125
1841	27,760	7,312	1,908	12,742	2,990	1,839	214	126	0	541	88
1842	31,309	8,162	1,959	14,983	3,277	1,890	231	65	4	633	93
1843	29,591	7,344	1,829	13,892	3,153	2,127	244	134	6	754	108
1844	26,542	6,266	1,635	12,745	2,990	1,892	264	109	2	537	102
1845	24,303	5,698	1,740	11,215	2,964	1,859	178	86	3	483	77
*1846	25,107	7,698		14,941		1936		85		446	
*1847	28,833	9,501		16,980		2246		81		475	
1848	30,349	7,530	2,161	13,950	3,161	2,634	350	76	5	396	86

Mr. Porter, the compiler of this table, for his excellent work entitled "The Progress of the Nation," very truly observes that "the most cursory glance at these figures must carry conviction to every mind, that instruction has power to restrain men from the commission of crimes—of such a nature, at least, as will bring them before a bar of justice. If we class together those who can read and write, and those who have acquired only an imperfect acquaintance with those elementary branches of knowledge—the scaffolding, merely, for the erection of the normal edifice—we find that, in the ten years comprised in the returns, there were, out of 252,544 persons committed, and whose degrees of instruction were ascertained, the great proportion of 229,300, or more than 90 in 100 *uninstructed* persons; while *only* 1,085 *persons had enjoyed the advantages of instruction beyond the elementary degree*, and only 22,159 had mastered, without advancing beyond, the arts of reading and writing."—(P. 33.) This is followed by several pages of facts and figures, which show still more conclusively, if possible, than the above, that in proportion as education is neglected crime of every kind—especially the worst—increases. The author shows that the Established Church, with its immense revenues, is greatly to blame for the gross ignorance of the people, and holds it responsible, exclusively, for that almost universal feeling among the lower classes, which prompts them to go to the tavern on Sunday, during divine service, rather than attend the state church. "It is a common remark," he says, "of the operatives of Lancashire—and one which is only too true—'Your church is a church for the rich, but not for the poor; it was not intended for such people as we are.'" The author then goes on to show that if the people are thus neglected by the rich church, they experience different treatment from what, in England at least, may be called the poor church. This fact is interesting in more than one point of view; especially when considered in connection with the following remarks:

"The Roman Church is much wiser than the English in this respect. It selects a great part of its priests from the poorest classes of society, and educates them gratuitously *in great simplicity of habits*. The consequence is, that they feel no difficulty in mingling with the poor. Many of them are not men of refined habits themselves, and are not therefore disgusted at want of refinement in others. They understand perfectly *what are the thoughts, feelings, and habits of the poor*. They know how to suit their demeanor, conversation, teaching, and actions, *so as to make the poor quite at ease with them*. They do not feel the disgust, which a more refined man cannot help feeling, in being obliged to enter the low haunts of the back streets and alleys.

"It is singular to observe how the priests of Romanist countries abroad associate with the poor. I have often seen them riding with

the peasants in their carts along the roads, eating with them in their houses, sitting with them in the village inns, mingling with them in their village festivals, *and yet always preserving their authority*. Besides this, the spectacles of the Romanist worship are much more attractive to the less educated masses, than the less imaginative forms of Protestant worship, and the services of the Roman Church are shorter and much more numerous than those of the English. These causes *fill the Romanist churches, both abroad, and in our manufacturing districts, on the Sundays, and at the early matins of the week days, with crowds of poor, who go there to receive the blessing of their priests, to hear prayers put up, which they believe to be for blessings*, although they do not understand them, and to see the glittering spectacles of the Romanist worship exhibited before them."—P. 69.

This shows that it is not alone the Oxford Puseyites and their pupils that are leaving the Anglican church; it seems that the poor are doing so as well as the rich. Without giving any opinion as to the merits of one religion more than another, considered as a means of future salvation, we may observe that it is not in human nature that the poor could continue attached to a religion whose ministers are too aristocratic to sympathize with them in their sufferings, or to advise them personally as friends to avoid evil, if they could not render them any further aid. Upon the other hand, it is perfectly natural that those who suffer should learn to regard that religion as the best, whose ministers, far from evincing any disgust towards them, visit them at their humble abodes, however wretched or even filthy those abodes may be, and do all in their power to improve their condition. Nor are the wealthy and thoughtful who are witnesses of this conduct insensible to its influence; and in all this, there is explanation enough, it seems to us, for the remarkable reaction which has taken place in England in favor of the Church of Rome within the last ten years. Mr. Kay is by no means in favor of this state of things. "It behooves us," he says, "to consider these things, if the English Church is not willing to give up the poor to the care of the Romanist priests. There are significant facts before us, if we would but see them. Within the last few years, splendid Romanist churches, *full of free sittings*, have been springing up in all the *crowded districts of England*, and especially in the manufacturing towns of the north."—P. 70.

The oppressive character of the game laws is another grievance which is dwelt on at considerable length in the volume before us, and it is shown to bring ruin on thousands. "The great increase of late years in poaching," says Rev. Mr. Worsley,* "is a striking feature in rural crime. * * In

* Essay on Juvenile Depravity.

1844–45, and up to May, 1846, that is, during a period of eighteen months, the *convictions were* 11,372, *which gives an average of* 4,834 per annum."* But let us see how those convictions are had, and what are their consequences. "This poor fellow, (the peasant-poacher,) who had no other amusement in which he could indulge, and *who has been goaded on by misery and destitution*, is caught by a game-keeper, is carried off to the tribunal of the petty sessions, where his own landlord, who is interested in his punishment, or where some other neighboring landlord, who is equally interested in his punishment, for the sake of his own sport, *is sitting as judge!* Before such an unfair tribunal the poor fellow is placed. *No jury is allowed him.* He is tried, judged, condemned, and sentenced by the landlords themselves, and is by them sent off to the county jail. * * There he becomes inured to the contemplation of vice of all kinds, and of all degrees. During the time of his incarceration, his poor wife and family are driven to the workhouse, in order to save starvation. * * This is no fanciful picture. It is an occurrence of every day in the rural districts. About 5,000 *such committals* take place every year in England and Wales!"

But we cannot proceed any further. Those desiring more information must consult the book itself. It would be in the worst possible taste to exult in such a state of things, as the result of the English aristocratic system, however much we may dislike that system. We think it much more profitable as well as more charitable to take warning by it, and at least guard against ignorance and oppression, the worst brutalizers of the human race.

ART. X.—*Catalogues and Reports of various Colleges, Seminaries, &c.*

THERE is no better index of the intellectual progress of a nation than the amount of encouragement and support which it gives its first-class educational institutions; and none who have paid any attention to the subject can admit this fact without also admitting that our own country is honorably distinguished in this respect. It is true that we have more sham colleges, universities and seminaries than any other country in the world of equal population. Establishments of this kind we have paid some attention to from time to time, in this journal, as we have to different other kinds of quack enterprises; nor shall we be less

* Social Condition of the English People, p. 230.

mindful in the future of putting the public on its guard against what in our opinion is the most pernicious of impostures. This is particularly true of the sham seminaries for young ladies, whose "professors" it would be far cheaper in the end to pay for keeping their professions to themselves, than to allow them to undertake what they are incapable of performing, were they even willing to do the latter for nothing. But our purpose on the present occasion is simply to give our impressions, in brief, of such institutions as we have been able to visit personally, or hear from through reliable correspondents during the commencements of last summer; and it affords us pleasure to say, at the outset, that with one or two exceptions, the report we have to give of all is creditable to them, although in most cases there is ample room for improvement.

The first pamphlet we happen to open is the "Report of the Committee of the Overseers of Harvard College, appointed to visit the Library for the year 1862, together with the accompanying documents;" and a careful perusal satisfies us that "Old Harvard" continues to maintain a reputation which, although somewhat exaggerated, is founded on an honest and substantial basis. It is but fair to say that this impression is not derived solely from the "Report" before us, for we have visited the College more than once, and been allowed every facility by the professors of different departments to form an opinion of its efficiency. We have seen other institutions in which the standard of scholarship, both as regards the classic languages and the mathematics, seemed to us to be higher than it is at Harvard, but none whose system of teaching is better calculated, so far as it goes, to develop the reasoning faculties. On a future occasion we may enter into particulars on this subject, but we must content ourselves at present with simply referring thus briefly to general results.

The love of reading good authors is a noble passion; but it is to be regretted that it should have the effect of inducing any one to steal. True, that a work is stolen is no evidence that the motive of stealing was love for the good thoughts which it contains; nay, an illiterate person who cared nothing for the contents of a book would be much more likely to steal it—his object being to sell it for money—than the most inveterate bibliophile. Still, it is one of the reproaches always cast on the learned, that some of their number have not scrupled to purloin a good book when they could not procure it by honest means. We have been led to these remarks by a passage in the Report of the Harvard Committee, which is as follows:

"He (the Librarian) reports the case of one person whom he *caught in the act of purloining a book*, and makes ominous insinuations as to the honesty of another person. These surreptitious borrowers are the pests of public libraries; but their number would be very small, *if they were publicly exposed, and made to suffer the penalty of their moral and penal offence.* The wrong they do is not so much in the act itself, *as in casting suspicion on honest readers, and depriving them of that free access to the books which their studies demand.*"

None will deny the truth of these observations. But it seems to us that the party caught in the act ought to have been exposed. If very poor, and at the same time very fond of books, his poverty might be regarded as an extenuating circumstance in his case. If he ought not to be exposed to public shame on this ground, it seems to us that it is the only instance in which it would be proper to shield him from the legitimate consequences of his crime. We like to see the libraries of colleges enlarged from time to time, and therefore take pleasure in transcribing the following extract:

"The accessions to the library during the past year have been 5,150 volumes, 3,546 pamphlets, and 62 maps of the Coast Survey. Of these, 1,730 volumes, 3,222 pamphlets, and all the maps have been donations. Many of the donations are of especial value, and they are noticed in detail in the report of the librarian. It is pleasant to observe that several of the most generous donors in previous years still maintain that rank in the report of the past year.

"The additions to the library by purchase have been 3,420 volumes and 324 pamphlets. These numbers do not express the actual value of the accessions, as some of them are very important and expensive works. The munificent gift of Mr. William Gray, of $5,000 annually for five years, has enabled the library to procure many works of this class that could not otherwise have been obtained. Lists of books to be purchased have been prepared by the professors in the various departments of literature and science, and the funds for the purchase of books have been equitably allotted to these departments. A symmetry has thus been given to the growth of the library. The fifth and last year of Mr. Gray's annual donation will expire with the year 1863. The liberal fund of $5,000, established by Mr. Stephen Salisbury, for supplying books in the Greek and Latin departments, had been so freely used of late, in supplying important deficiencies, that the income has been allowed to accumulate."

But all colleges have not the means of making such extensive purchases as these; scarcely any new colleges have. And here we are reminded of the honor those do themselves who give liberal donations to colleges, for the purpose of establishing either professorships or scholarships. What nobler use could any man make of any money he has to spare than to bestow it in this way? No monument he could build with the same amount, however large, would be more lasting, or would shed more lustre on his memory. Several of the professorships of Harvard have been established in this way by the good philanthropic men whose names they bear, and will bear for ever. Even the library is sustained by such donations, as may be seen from the following additional extract:

"The available means for the increase of the library during the present academical year, ending July, 1863, are the income of the following funds:

Hollis	$2,644 03
Shapleigh	3,776 03
Haven	2,360 23
Boyden	49 68
Ward	5,162 74
Salisbury	4,974 10
Bowditch	2,135 00
Total	$21,101 81

"To the income of these funds is to be added Mr. Gray's annual donation of $5,000, and an unexpended balance from the same source of $4,815.80. The subscription fund for the increase of the library, commenced in 1853, now amounts to $6,480.35; but its income is not at present available for the purchase of books."

We have visited another college in Massachusetts, which, although young in years, bids fair to rival Old Harvard in the highest characteristics of an educational institution—we mean the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, Massachusetts, which was founded in 1843, by Rt. Rev. Dr. Fenwick, Bishop of Boston, and placed under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers. It was not, however, thus bestowed at random. The mere fact of being a Jesuit Father was not a sufficient qualification for a professorship, in the mind of the Bishop; who selected the best educated and best qualified to impart instruction to others, wherever he could get them. He had perception and understanding enough to know that it was particularly necessary to be thus careful and discriminating in undertaking to establish a first-class college in the most enlightened State of the United States. The same course has been pursued to the present day, whenever a new professor has had to be appointed. This will sufficiently account for the remarkable progress made by the institution. Massachusetts has often been censured, and sometimes with too much reason, for sectarian prejudice; but when she erred most in this respect she made an exception in favor of Holy Cross College, which, to her credit be it mentioned, she has always respected as an institution of *learning* worthy of the name. It is a sufficient proof of this respect that the Governor of the State is in the habit of attending the commencements of the College. Nor did he absent himself from the last, as may be seen from the following extract, which we take from the report of the *Boston Post:*

"His Excellency Governor Andrew was present, with several of his staff. It was the Governor who distributed the diplomas to the graduates; also the crosses of honor, and the premiums to the successful competitors, addressing kind and encouraging words to each as he gracefully suspended the crosses from their necks. At the close of the exercises, his Excellency made a brief but appropriate address, thanking the students for the proficiency they had displayed, and encouraging them to still more creditable efforts in the future; at the same time paying a well-deserved tribute to the institution, *in the name of the state*, for the 'good fruit' which is the truest criterion of excellence."

Several of the original essays read by the students possessed merit of a high order. The subjects best treated were, "Trees—Their Beauty and Significance," "How much Poetry owes to Art and Industry," and "Cardinal Xemines as a Patron of Literature." More attention is paid to philosophy and rhetoric at the Holy Cross than at any other Jesuit College with which we are acquainted; and the students of each speak the language of Cicero with a degree of facility and purity not often attained at the present day, even in the best colleges of the Old World. But in examining the library, those who have seen some of the best libraries connected with similar institutions in Europe, might easily forget, for the time being, that they were in Worcester, Massachusetts, and not in one of those European cities most distinguished for their educational establishments. In point of extent, this comparison would not be just. The number of volumes in the Worcester libra-

ry, though quite considerable, is not large compared to that in a college library in Europe; but be it remembered that the libraries in the city of Paris alone contain more volumes than all the libraries in the United States put together. In the department of the Greek and Latin Classics, especially in that portion of it which contains the writings of the Fathers of the Church and of the Jesuits, the library of the Holy Cross is surpassed by few even in Europe, and we believe only by one on this continent.

In turning from a Jesuit college in Massachusetts to the educational institutions of New York, we are reminded that there is a Jesuit college in the latter state, also. There are two or three, we believe; but we will refer only to one, for the reason that we are not sufficiently informed in regard to the rest, to be able to form any accurate or fair estimate of their character. St. Xavier's College in Fifteenth Street, in this city, we know but too well, for we have visited it on several occasions, and attended more than one of its commencements. Our friendly disposition towards educational institutions, combined with the high reputation as educators of the Jesuits of the olden time, led us to form an erroneous opinion of St. Xavier's, on our first brief visit. The fact is, that we accepted the statements of one of the Father professors without making any effort to test their truth. No doubt the gentleman alluded to believed that the institution deserved all he said in its praise; although it occurred to us at the time, that he was but a poor specimen of a Jesuit educator. At all events, we soon saw reason to alter our opinion of St. Xavier's College. The college buildings are indeed very fine; well calculated for an educational institution. Its library, though not large, contains a goodly number of volumes, and includes some excellent works. Nor do the students labor under much inconvenience for play-grounds, or means of amusement and recreation in the open air.

But this is all we can say in favor of St. Xavier's. We do not wish to make any comment here on what we were permitted to see behind the scenes. By this, however, we do not mean to charge the Fathers with any immoral conduct, further than it may be immoral on their part to undertake to teach others what they do not understand themselves. At no other institution known to us are such elaborate preparations made for the annual commencement, as at the St. Xavier's; but so far as we have seen, or are aware, no examinations of the students are by visitors permitted. The commencement exercises consist of an exhibition; but what is this an exhibition of? No doubt it is designed to be an exhibition of learning, culture, talent, &c.; but it sometimes puzzles even Mr. Barnum to exhibit things that have no existence. It certainly shows neither learning nor talent to get up on a platform and declaim, as if in a fury, a long rigmarole got by rote; although we would not at all undervalue the practice of declaiming in

public as a means of improving the intonation and other qualities of the voice. But something more than this should be done, in order to satisfy parents and guardians that they are getting the worth of their money. The presence of Archbishop Hughes, and one or two others of less note, imparted dignity to the last exhibition as long as they remained; but in glancing over the large hall in which it was held, it was easy to see that nine-tenths of the audience belonged to the lower order of the Irish; the servant-maids being decidedly the most appreciative, as well as the most numerous part. This, indeed, might have been inferred without a glance at all, from the large proportion of the declamations devoted to the most fulsome praise of Ireland. The design of these bombastic eulogies would not, perhaps, be so obvious, if the professors were Irishmen themselves; but there is no reason why Canadian and Dutch professors should have such great admiration for the Irish, or any other people, except they had some motive for it. And here we come to the secret of the qualifications, or rather the want of qualifications, above referred to. It is a well-known characteristic of the Irish to be ambitious to give their children the best education in their power. This is true even of the humblest class, who of course cannot tell whether any institution is good or bad, further than they can judge by its external appearances.

Accordingly, the buildings of St. Xavier's are, as we have said, of quite a respectable order; indeed, they are *imposing* in more than one sense. But, for the reason alluded to, it seems it was not deemed necessary, when the institution was founded, that the professors should be of as high a "finish" as the architecture. Recently, however, this has proved to be a mistake; and we are told that it will be rectified as soon as possible—a fact which may serve to explain the following passages which we extract from one of the most respectable and most liberal journals in this city:—"The prospects of this institution are, perhaps, somewhat improved. We see that its late rector, Rev. J. Durthaller, has been removed to Buffalo, a latitude for which the gentleman's talents and scholarship are supposed to be better suited than for that of New York. We learn that the Rev. Mr. Berthelet, a professor belonging to the same institution, goes some hundred miles farther to the west. It is believed that had these changes been made two or three years ago, the cause of education would have been benefited in Fifteenth Street, if not 'out west.' But Mr. Berthelet is the son of a wealthy Canadian gentleman, who is able and willing to pay for the position of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, especially when the professor is also made treasurer."

Those who know most about the institution assure us that the two changes referred to in this extract would be quite sufficient; that

all the other professors are well qualified for the positions they hold; and we have no reason to doubt the fact. Even the Rev. Mr. Berthelet may know a good deal about mathematics, although he seemed to us to know so little about "the humanities," that he reminded us of a certain line in the Iliad, which we quote below.* We give here only a Latin version, because our respect for a fraternity who have done so much for the cause of education, to whom he belongs, renders us unwilling to apply opprobrious terms even to a subordinate member who has no such scruples himself, his early education having been neglected.

"Heu! impudentia indute lucri-studiose
Quomodo aliquis tibi promptus mandatis obsequatur inter Achivos,"* &c.

Since change of climate and of scenery has been known to prove as beneficial to the mind as to the body, may we not hope that the professors will improve as much as the institution they leave behind? We confess that this hope would be much greater than it is if, instead of sending the gentlemen mentioned to the West, they were sent as far North as Worcester, Massachusetts. Nay, if they spent five years at the College of the Holy Cross, and could show that they made the best of their time, we should have no objection to receive them back again in New York; but on the contrary, would vote for their being reinstalled in the positions which they lately occupied at St. Xavier's.

The best of the New York City institutions is undoubtedly the University of New York. This estimate of it has become more and more general within the last three years. Indeed, it enjoyed a high reputation from the outset; but its character has been greatly improved under the auspices of its present accomplished Chancellor. Several of its professors have a European fame. In proof of this, suffice it to mention Prof. J. W. Draper, M.D., LL.D., author of "Treatise on Human Physiology," &c., and Prof. Vincenzo Botta. But the best evidence of its efficiency is to be found in the superior scholarship of its students, many of whom are distinguished for their high attainments both in the languages and in the sciences. The university makes no parade of its work. Its catalogue is one of the slenderest of all the similar pamphlets now on our table. We do not mean as to the number of its students, for in this respect it is the reverse of slender, as may be seen from the following general summary:

"Preparatory Department	90
Collegiate Department	115
School of Medicine	186
School of Civil Engineering	9
School of Art	12
School of Analytical and Practical Chemistry	6
School of Law	70
Total	488"

* ὦ μοι, ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε, κερδαλεόφρον,
πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσι πείθηται Ἀχαιῶν.
Il., Lib. 1, 149-50.

But in general, it is those that do most good who make the fewest "fair speeches and fine promises," and *vice versâ*. More than once we have been present at some of the recitations at the University—always *incognito*, and on every occasion we have heard and seen much to impress us with a deep sense of the thoroughness of the institution. There being none in the Catalogue of the University of that self-laudatory species of literature which often swells similar pamphlets to such portly dimensions, we could give no long extracts, were we even disposed to do so. We transcribe one passage, but it is of a different kind from that alluded to; although it occupies little space, it means a good deal, and its meaning is salutary.

"Habitual indolence and inattention to study will be regarded as an offence against the laws and the spirit of the institution, and will be made the subject of such discipline as the faculty may deem expedient.

"Any student who frequents billiard-rooms, taverns, or other places of corrupting influence, will not be allowed to remain a member of the University.

"All instances of absence from the Chapel and recitation, or tardy attendance upon the same, unless explained by a note from the parent or guardian, or otherwise satisfactorily accounted for to the officiating Professor, will be communicated to the parent or guardian, and will be subject to discipline. No student will be permitted to leave the city during term-time, unless a request to that effect be made by his parent or guardian."—P. 34.

It is always interesting to attend the commencement of the University; and it is pretty generally attended accordingly by all within reach of it, who take any interest in the progress of collegiate education, and are capable of appreciating the proficiency made by the students during the last term.

We are sorry that we cannot speak in similar terms of Columbia College. We had hoped that this institution, too, would soon be worthy of the Empire City. For a time, indeed, and not long since, it seemed disposed to awaken from the torpor in which it had lain for a quarter of a century; and no sooner did any such sign of new life appear than we endeavored to do it full justice, as our readers may remember. But unfortunately it was of brief duration, if it was not altogether an illusion. If the faculty were disposed a year ago to cast off their slumber, they seem to have entirely changed their mind and gone to sleep again.

Were we to judge by the size and weight of the "One Hundred and Ninth Annual Catalogue," now before us, we should, however, come to a different conclusion. It is three times as large as the Catalogue of the University; that is, it contains three times as much "reading matter," though not half as much thought; and, it is painful to add, that such thoughts as it contains have seldom the advantage of being expressed in grammatical language. We are told that the Chancellor was once an editor of a weekly paper, but our informant adds, excusingly, that the journal which he conducted did not live long enough to afford sufficient practice in orthography and punctuation, not to mention syntax, prosody, &c. Be this as it may, we should like to see the Catalogue of old Columbia gotten up in much

more respectable style in a literary point of view than that now before us. In order to enable our readers to judge for themselves as to whether we do injustice to the editor of the pamphlet, or not, we will extract one or two passages as specimens. All the different departments are praised in a style which seems to us too suggestive of Barnum. There is scarcely a page we open in which we do not find illustrations of this. Thus one of the Professors is lauded, as follows:

"Dr. Torrey has presented to Columbia College his *immense* Herbarium, *the fruit of forty years' assiduous labor*, together with his *valuable* Botanical Library. The Herbarium is *especially rich* in North American plants, as it contains *full sets* of *nearly all* the collections made by the *numerous* exploring expeditions of the United States Government. * * The Trustees having provided Dr. Torrey with a residence in the College buildings, and ample accommodation for his Herbarium and Library, he will be able to prosecute this important branch of science under more favorable circumstances than he has hitherto enjoyed."—Pp. 98-9.

This is no peculiar favor to Dr. Torrey; otherwise we might have passed it over; but each Professor receives a similar eulogy; and sometimes even his assistants are shown to be distinguished in some way from those occupying similar positions in other institutions. The following will serve as an instance of the latter kind:

"The Department of Chemistry is under the direction of Professor Charles A. Joy, Ph. D. Mr. Maurice Perkins, *late of the Laboratories of Heidelberg and Göttingen*, assists in the practical exercises of the Laboratory."—P. 114.

A European tailor opening a shop in Broadway might be excused for announcing himself as late of London or Paris. But even the knight of the scissors would be likely to be laughed at if he announced himself as late of London *and* Paris. Did Mr. Perkins belong to *both* laboratories *at once?* or did he exchange one for the other? Again, what was his position in each? If these little queries were correctly answered, then we should be the better able to appreciate the value of the fact that one of the assistants of Prof. Joy is "late of the Laboratories of Heidelberg and Göttingen." We find no fault, however, with Mr. Perkins; he may be one of the best chemists now living for aught we know to the contrary, for we had never heard of the gentleman before. It is not of him or his pretensions we complain; but of the tailor-like style in which he is introduced to the patrons of Columbia College. But this is by no means all we are told about the laboratory. We extract another specimen:

"The Laboratory will be open to *its special students* from the first of November to the first of June, every week-day, except Saturday, from 9 A. M. until *dusk*, at a charge *of not to exceed* $300 *a year*, payable semi-annually in advance."—P. 114.

We trust the "special students" are taught somewhat better English than this. Perhaps it does very well to say "from 9 A. M. until *dusk;*" but suppose it became dusk at 10 A. M.—one hour after the laboratory was opened—as it often has during an eclipse of the sun—what then? Nay, without any eclipse at all, it would be the duty of the janitor, according to this rule, to turn out every student as soon as he saw that it was "somewhat dark," "darkish," "or tending to

darkness or blackness," since the word is defined by these terms by every respectable lexicographer, from Dr. Johnson to Dr. Worcester. But "from 9 A. M. to dusk" is a respectable phraseology for a college Professor to make use of in addressing his patrons, compared to the following part of the same sentence, in which we are told that "*of not to exceed* $300 *a year*" is the charge. Another rule, given on the same page, reads as follows:

"Undergraduates may attend in the Laboratory for instruction and practice in Analytical Chemistry, *for the space each day of not exceeding two hours*, upon payment of a fee proportional to the time devoted to the study."—P. 116.

Who can tell the extent of "the space not exceeding two hours?" Will any tyro in English grammar tell us whether it is right or wrong to prefix the *definite* article to an *indefinite* period, as it is here? It seems to us that if the lecturer on chemistry does not understand that science better than the compiler of the pamphlet before us understands the English language, the amount of "fee proportional to the time" to which he is entitled is but very small. The reader who has given us his attention thus far will be able to appreciate the following announcement:

"The latter half of the year is devoted to a critical study of an English Classic, *treated in the same manner as an Ancient Classic is treated by a Professor of Ancient Languages*, and to Versification as an Exercise in the Vocabulary *and niceties of the English language*."—P. 100.

We are not at all surprised, from the style of this pamphlet, that the English is "treated" as a dead language at Columbia College. As to the "*niceties* of the English language," as taught at that venerable institution, we fear, judging from the specimens we have seen and heard, that the best judges would rather call them "the nastinesses of the English language." Still, let none get more blame than they deserve. It is but justice to Chancellor King to say that we have been assured that the grammar of the catalogue would have been a great deal better than it is, or, rather, not so bad, had not that good-natured functionary been engaged for months in sitting almost daily for the portrait, by Mr. Wenzler, which appeared in the last exhibition of our Academy of Design, as No. 184, near Herrick's portrait of a horse, No. 192. The same apology has been made for certain blunders and drawbacks observed at the last commencement of Columbia College. Some may think that it would have been more creditable for the Chancellor to see that his catalogue was written in correct English, and to take care that the students who were ambitious to obtain degrees should make some decent effort to merit the distinction, than to occupy his valuable time in sitting for a picture, which, after all, is as unlike President King—whom it was evidently the design of the artist to flatter—as it is unlike the Apollo Belvedere. The truth is that, seeing that there was a portrait of Chancellor Ferris at the previous exhibition, he thought it but right that he should

have a portrait too. And who would blame him for wishing to be as distinguished as his neighbors? But if Chancellor Ferris was induced to sit for his portrait, he was not the less careful on this account to furnish a catalogue which had, at least, the merit of being written in correct English; and the same remark will apply to his attention to the progress of the students. Could we only have said the same of Chancellor King we should have been among the first to admire all that it is possible for any one of a cultivated taste to admire in his portrait. As it is, we hope he will do better in future, and that Columbia College will awaken in earnest from the lethargy by which it has been so long oppressed; although we confess that we are not very sanguine as to either result.

Our readers are so well acquainted with the character of Manhattan College that we need hardly refer to it here. We may observe, however, that the examinations at its last commencement transcended the expectations of the most sanguine of its patrons and friends. In the sciences especially, the higher classes acquitted themselves with great credit; and it is but seldom we have heard students of the sophomore class translate difficult passages in Greek or Latin with more facility and accuracy than those of Manhattan College. The examinations continued for three days, and so thoroughly was the work done in each class the first and second days, that several of the exercises had to be cut short the third day. We cannot give the reader a more correct idea of the judicious variety and importance of the exercises than by copying the programme for the two first days. This we do all the more cheerfully because we have no copy before us of the Annual Catalogue, from which we could give extracts containing more definite information:

SATURDAY, JULY 11TH, 1863.

Music.....College Band.
Declamation.....Henry Hughes, James Reid.
History—Sacred.....Second Class.
"Priere d'une Vierge"—Piano.....Paul Bourgeois.
The French Revolution.....Pedro Rafael.
Arithmetic—Intellectual and Practical.....Second Class.
March, from "I Puritani".....Orchestra.
Declamation.....William Dorflinger, Peter French.
Latin—Historæ Sacræ.....Second Division.
The Influence of Music.....Edward Johnson.
Tyrolese Song—Solo, Piano accompaniment.....R. Buckley, J. Lyons.
Geometry—Plane; Book 1.....Second Class.
Polonaise—Violin.....Filipe Yeregoyen.
Music.....College Band.
Algebra—Elementary.....Second Class.
"Knowledge is Power".....Edmund Mitchell.
Galop, from the Opera of "Guillaume Tell".....Orchestra.
Geometry—Plane, Solid, and Spherical.....Second Division, First Class.
Declamation.....R. O. Glover, John Lyons.
Morceau, from "Wallerstein"—Piano.....Pedro Rafael.
Grand Chorus—Rossini.....Choir and Orchestra.

MONDAY, JULY 13TH, 1863.

Music.....College Band.
Declamation.....C. E. Rafael, David O'Neil.

History—England.....First Class.
Overture—Piano.....Charles Hannan, Pedro Rafael.
"The Wrongs of the Indian".....John Kean.
Natural Philosophy.....First Class.
"The Likeness of my Mother"—Solo, Violin Accomp.....Thomas Lynch, Filipe Yeregoyen.
Declamation.....John Doyle, Burdett Mulchinock.
Greek—Jacob's Reader, Testament.....First Division.
Career of James II.....R. O. Glover.
Duet, from the Opera of "Lucia de Lammermoor"..Enrique and Pedro Rafael.
Trigonometry—Plane and Spherical.....Second Division, First Class.
Potpourri.....Orchestra.
Latin—Virgil's Æneid, two books; Arnold's Latin Composition..First Division.
Declamation.....P. McClancy.
Variations—Violin.....Filipe Yeregoyen.
Calculus—Diff.; Analytical Geometry.....First Division.
Mathematics.....John Lyons.
Grand Chorus—Solos.....Richard Buckley, John Kean, John Lyons.
Music.....College Band.

Several of the essays whose titles are given in the above programme evinced a high degree of culture and ability, and elicited the applause of the audience. The premiums bestowed on meritorious students consisted of valuable books, of which the number distributed would make quite a handsome library. Several members of the higher classes got as much as a dozen standard works each, for their proficiency in various studies. No intelligent person who witnessed the distribution had any doubt of the judiciousness of such premiums, or of their superiority to any other kind—when so liberally given—as a means of stimulating the tardy and careless, and of encouraging the studious and thoughtful to still more earnest efforts. This fact was appropriately alluded to by the Rev. Dr. Starrs, in the course of a very excellent address which he delivered to the students at the close of the exercises, and in which he spoke in the highest terms of the thoroughness and efficiency of Manhattan College, although well aware of the jealousy felt towards it by at least one other Catholic institution of New York, for those very qualities, as well as for that Christian-like liberality which has secured it the patronage of liberal Protestants, as well as Catholics, without in any manner compromising the duties of the professors as a religious order.

For some reason or other, the philosophy of which we may discuss at another time, our fashionable schools for young ladies only succeed in very few instances, whether we call them Colleges, Universities, Seminaries, or Institutes. We dislike very much to say that the majority are shams that never have any just claim to any of those titles, although often more extensively patronized than those of a different character. There are others which do very well for a time—employing competent teachers, male and female, and performing their duties in general in a conscientious and efficient manner. But after they have gained a reputation in this way they think they can lessen their expenses by employing teachers of an inferior grade, and at the same time maintain the character acquired by the opposite course. They

soon find their mistake, however; and yet they affect to be astonished that those who entertained a high opinion of them when they deserved it now entertain a very low opinion of them, when they deserve that still more. In other words, there are those of our enterprising principals of ladies' schools who regard it as a most villanous inconsistency to pretend that the teaching done this year by incompetent, cheap professors, is not as good as that done last year by competent professors, who, although they got twice as large salaries as their successors, were not dear, after all, but, in fact, would have been the cheapest in the long run. We do not, however, apply these observations to any particular schools. All we mean by them is, that those desiring to maintain the reputation of their schools must do so by honest, persevering effort; not by any cheap plan, further than that cheapness has reference to competence and ability. Even then it is not wise to reduce the salary of the competent, faithful worker; for in teaching, as well as in other kinds of business, "the laborer is worthy of his hire;" and there are but few who have the same courage and resolution to do this month for fifty dollars what they did last month for a hundred dollars.

In the hasty glance which we have been able to take at the pile of catalogues of young ladies' colleges, seminaries, &c., on our table, we find two that contain some interesting peculiarities, and are, at the same time, remarkably like each other. We mean the "Third Annual Catalogue of the Hillsborough Female College, Hillsborough, Ohio," and the "Circular and Catalogue of the Packer Institute, with the Annual Commencement Exercises, July 1, 1862." These are really curiosities in their way. The former, especially, would be worthy of a place even in Barnum's Museum; although it would hardly attract more attention than the latter during the national baby-show. We have never been at Hillsborough, Ohio; we do not know one of the professors, male or female. For aught we know, they are all very worthy and very learned people. All we want to say of them is, that their Catalogue embraces some queer specimens of English belles-lettres.

After a full and particular account of the Board of Instruction, Board of Trustees, Freshman Class, Sophomore Class, Graduating Class, Course of Studies, &c., &c., we are presented with an elaborate and minute description of the college buildings from garret to cellar. Even the young ladies' dormitories and wardrobes, and all the curious apparatus pertaining to each, are described with a minuteness of detail that would do credit to an auctioneers's clerk. There is so much of the ludicrous in the whole affair, that notwithstanding the enormous length of the following extract, we make no apology for copying it:

"*The Dormitory.*—Let us pause a moment to describe it. Its extreme length is

94 feet. Width at north end 45 feet, at south end 25 feet. *Twenty feet at this end are taken off for the bath-room.* Height of the ceiling 12 feet, capacity nearly forty thousand cubic feet, *holding about two hundred and forty-five thousand gallons of air.* If we allow three thousand two hundred and forty gallons of air for one person twenty-four hours, (a liberal allowance,) there would be enough in this room for seventy-five persons to breathe *twenty-four* hours, or two hundred and twenty-five persons for *eight* hours, the time the room is occupied for sleeping. It contains enough of air for this number of persons, if no particle of fresh air could be admitted from without. What shall we say, then, when we look around and count eighteen windows, each eight and a half feet high and three and a half feet wide, each one of which must admit a considerable quantity of air when closed, and when the sash is raised or lowered may admit any quantity desired? Shall we say that this bedroom is not ventilated? Is there one in the State that has a purer atmosphere? *The door is generally left open at night*, which gives the benefit of all the air in the halls; but without this, the room itself, after being ventilated all day, contains three times as much pure air as is needed *for seventy-five persons during the night*, and *this is the largest number we ever expect to put into it.* There are now sixty-six single bedsteads with high posts and curtains around, where each young lady can be alone to dress or undress, or *to pray.* But let us proceed to

"*The Lavatory*, the door of which is a few steps from the door of the Dormitory. Here the ladies go, as soon as they rise, to wash and adjust their toilet. Around the whole room extends a reservoir, lined with lead, and large enough to hold two hundred gallons of water. The room is divided by partitions into twenty apartments, in each one of which is a faucet to draw water, and a trough passing round the room to carry off waste water to the drain. In each little room is a mirror and a drawer for combs, tooth-brushes, &c. There is apparatus in the room for warming water to take a bath *on Saturday*, or oftener if desired, and a cold bath can be taken at any time. Different persons may occupy the same apartment in succession, but there is a separate wash-basin for each one. Water is supplied to the bath-room by a forcing-pump in the cellar, which draws it from a cistern outside of the house, and sends it to the room in the third story. A boy can pump enough in five minutes to last all day. By attaching a hose to the pipe that brings up the water, the upper floor might in a few minutes be flooded. Let us proceed a little to the west, ascend a few steps, and look into the

"*Wardrobe-Room.*—Here are 28 large closets extending round the whole room, and each one large enough to hold the clothes of two or three ladies—at least *such things* as they would wish to hang up. The trunks are placed in the middle of the room, and hold part of the clothing. To this room and the Lavatory the ladies have access at such times as are necessary, and they need not go to the bedroom *except to sleep or pray.*"—(Pp. 12, 13.)

If we had even space to spare, it would not be necessary to make any additions to the above. It would be equally superfluous to comment on such descriptions. Suffice it to observe, in passing, that it must be very pleasant for those who patronize Hillsborough College to know not only all the particulars about the dormitories, lavatories, and wardrobe-rooms of their daughters, but also the number of gallons of air which they may use in any given time; not to speak of the manner in which they hang up their things, pray, &c. We must not omit to transcribe the following announcement which is given under the head of "*Errata:*"

"The title, 'M. E. L.,' should have been added to the names of Miss Mary Muntz and Miss Frances McReynolds, on page 4 of the Catalogue, under the head, 'Board of Instruction.'"—(Page 21.)

Those unacquainted with female colleges may not be aware that the letters "M. E. L." mean "Mistress of English Literature." This must be distinguished from "M. L. A.," "Mistress of the Liberal Arts," another degree conferred by the same institution.

Instead of verbal descriptions of the more interesting parts of the college buildings, like that quoted, we have diagrams of them in the

Catalogue of the Packer Institute, which fully inform the curious in such matters as to where the young ladies keep their clothes, where they wash, &c. The "Committees of Examination" deliver eulogies in that style of composition known as "fine writing." The "Report on Compositions" extends to eight pages. The nearest approach which it makes to criticism or truth may be seen from the following extract:

"We have marked but few errors of orthography, and those indicated carelessness rather than ignorance. It is gratifying to read *so many pages of good spelling, fair writing*, and tolerably good punctuation. But as *the Packer Institute has been so often commended for its attention to these matters*, in previous reports, we pass them by for the more serious and embarrassing task of passing judgment upon the relative *excellence* of the various compositions submitted to our criticism."—(P. 35.)

The address of the President of the graduating class is in a similar strain. The latter occupies six pages, the greater part of which is devoted, not to education, but to the war, or rather to a political harangue, such as one might expect to hear at a ward meeting from a third-rate politician. The fair students are initiated into the beauties of political partisanship, as follows:

"This is not only an interesting epoch in your lives, *as graduates from the Packer Collegiate Institute;* but you have reached a period in the history of our beloved country that is most eventful. Since the establishment of the Government of the United States, which has been productive of so many blessings to the American people, there has been no crisis like the present.

* * * * * * *

"Whatever other issues are involved in this great National struggle, one object avowed by those who rebel against the national authority, is distinctly stated.

"The secessionist does not hesitate to proclaim that slavery is the foundation—the 'corner-stone'—upon which he would erect a new government, and that he would substitute an Aristocratic for a Republican form.

"It has always been the proud boast of an American citizen, that the honors and titles, which, in other lands, wait on the accident of birth, are, in this, the reward of a meritorious life."—P. 63.

After the affairs of the nation have been disposed of in this fashion, the orator proceeds to elucidate the doctrine of "Woman's Rights." He points out to the young ladies the wonderful powers they possess over the pretended lords of creation, lest they might not be sharp-sighted enough themselves to make the discovery.

It is pleasant to turn from lucubrations of this kind to the "Eleventh Annual Catalogue and Circular of the Brooklyn Heights Seminary." In this there is no bombast, no boasting, no political tirade, no special pleading in favor of woman's rights; but a modest, plain statement of the objects of the institution, and a concise account without any flourish of the anniversary proceedings, which concludes with the names of the graduating class. One essay is given at the end, as an illustration of the degree of culture attained by the higher class; and none capable of judging will read this without bearing testimony to the high order of talent, as well as culture possessed by the authoress. Nor is that before us, the Catalogue for the present year. The latter we have not yet seen, although we attended the annual commencement in July last, and had the pleasure of taking part in the examinations. The

intelligence evinced by the ladies of the first class—the facility and total freedom from embarrassment—combined at the same time with that modest and gentle bearing, which, after all, is the highest ornament of the sex—with which they answered questions that might have puzzled the sophomores in some of our male colleges, afforded the best proof of their being under the guidance of an accomplished and thorough educator. As in all similar instances, the principal was not only willing, but anxious that the visitors should propose any questions they thought proper. This reminds us of a little incident which we will relate as briefly as possible. A visitor, who evidently regarded himself as a *savant* of no secondary order, asked one of the young ladies, which of several kinds of demonstration, which he mentioned, including mathematical demonstration, was the most convincing and satisfactory? She replied that, in her opinion, a demonstration founded on experience and analogy, the propositions of which are corroborated by various credible witnesses, was in general more satisfactory than a mathematical demonstration. It was in vain she proceeded to illustrate her view of the case, by remarking that, although she had never been in London or Paris, she had no doubt whatever, from all she had heard and read about both cities, that they really exist; whereas, she had seen many mathematical demonstrations, the truth involved in which was by no means so obvious.

These were not the exact words used; but they are substantially the same. The learned examiner shook his head. He was astonished that a lady so intelligent in other respects, should entertain so erroneous an opinion! He would ask, was there any sort of proof so infallible as mathematical demonstration? The principal, although he saw very well where the error lay, was too polite to decide against his guest in favor of his pupil. At this stage of the discussion, we ventured to observe that our own opinion on the subject coincided with that of the lady, and we gave such reasons as the following: that of the many systems invented by different astronomers for the purpose of explaining the succession of day and night and other phenomena on our planet, all have been regarded as mathematically demonstrated until proved to be erroneous. For more than a thousand years, the most eminent geometers regarded the geocentric system as placed beyond doubt by mathematical demonstration. Need we say that a similar opinion prevails at present in regard to the Copernican system; although some of the most learned of the scientific men of Germany have written elaborate works against it. We also took occasion to refer to the reply of Sir Isaac Newton, when asked a somewhat similar question. But all to no purpose; the examiner showed his learning and acumen in finding fault with the lady's off-hand reply to a question which he had evidently deliberated upon, though not very logically.

We now repeat here that the lady was right and her examiner wrong;

and we give the following additional reasons. Even in the works of Euclid, there are several propositions given as demonstrated, the truth of which is denied by the most eminent geometricians of modern times, including Sir Isaac Newton, Claevus, Des Cartes, Gregory, and Barrow. For example, Euclid has laid it down as an axiom, that lines which make with a third line the two interior angles less than two right angles, must meet, if produced, but has failed to demonstrate the fact. Dr. Horsely has attempted to rectify the error of Euclid, but he too has failed; the same may be said of Dr. Larnard and of Simpson, and yet the "demonstration" of each is held to be correct by a large number of students; although no two of those demonstrations are alike. Again, Euclid holds those solids to be equal which are contained by the same number of similar and equal plain figures; he has left us a "mathematical demonstration" of the proposition, and yet it can easily be shown that solids may be *unequal in any proportion, though contained by such plane lines.* One more example, and we are done. In the twenty-sixth proposition of the eleventh book of Euclid, it is proposed to make a solid angle equal to a given solid angle at a point in a given line. A demonstration follows the proposition; but it proves nothing. Several modern geometers have given other demonstrations of the same proposition, no two of which are alike; only one out of all is held to be correct; yet each has been studied by thousands of pupils as "mathematical demonstration." The curious reader may refer to the problem under consideration, but we venture to predict that however familiar he may be with the principles of geometry, he will study the best demonstration long enough before the truth it undertakes to prove becomes as clear to him as that there is really a city called Paris and another called London, although he has never seen either.

Of the several young ladies' seminaries of New York, only three or four seem to possess any vitality. What has become of the Abbott University, or whither it is gone we cannot tell, although we have frequently heard those inquiries made lately. We trust, at all events, that it has not ceased to exist; we should much rather learn that it has so far improved within the last year, that if it is not even yet a real university, it is a good reliable school for young ladies; and we are glad to inform its inquiring friends that we have heard nothing to the contrary. The Van Norman Institute used to be a highly respectable establishment; we hope it is so still; but lately we have heard nothing of it; we will therefore say nothing one way or other on the present occasion. The Rutgers Female Institute had labored under some difficulties for a time; but we are glad to know that it is once more becoming efficient and prosperous. The exercises at its last annual commencement were highly creditable both to teachers and students —sufficiently so to revive the former prestige of the institution, and

those who are acquainted with its history are aware that this is high praise. Another highly respectable New York establishment is the Ferris Female Institute. We know no seminary for young ladies that is of a higher grade, which indeed might have been inferred from the fact that it possesses the advantage of the supervision of a veteran educator like the Rev. Dr. Ferris, Chancellor of the University of New York. Having been favored with complimentary tickets to one of its courses of lectures last winter, we can bear testimony from personal knowledge to the superior facilities afforded the students for acquiring a thorough education.

If there be any other educational institution in the city which is equally worthy of public confidence and patronage with those we have commended, it is not intentionally its merits have been overlooked in these pages; for, although we sometimes deem it incumbent on us to pass censure, notwithstanding that we may seem harsh and unkind in doing so, it is our sincere wish and intention to advance the cause of education to the utmost of our ability.

ART. XI.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE.

Husband and Wife; or the Science of Human Development through Inherited Tendencies. By the author of the "Parent's Guide," &c. New York: Carleton. 1863.

We do not take up this volume for examination because it contains anything that is original, instructive, or entertaining, but because it illustrates a species of morality, or rather of immorality, which is becoming very prevalent, and which it is the duty of all who value the family compact to frown down. None have more sincere respect for the capabilities of the female intellect than we; but we have much higher respect for female modesty and delicacy. We will not say that without the latter qualities, to serve as a protection, female virtue cannot exist, although such has been the opinion of the wisest and most thoughtful of mankind. We prefer to think, or rather to hope, that there are women who are very indiscreet and imprudent in their language, who would be incapable of the conduct which such language would imply. We have no doubt but such is the case in the present instance. We have no idea of who the lady is who has compiled the book before us. All we know about her is what she tells us herself, namely, that she wrote a somewhat similar book some twenty years ago. She does not expressly tell us, so far as we remember,

that she is the mother of a large family, but such is the inference to which we are led by her observations in many parts of her new book.

It seems to us that our race would be very degenerate indeed if it became necessary for the ladies to take up their pens to instruct us in what our present author calls the "Science of Human Development" —in plain English, the science of getting as many or as few children as we wish. Nor does our author confine herself to giving information of this kind in such a shape that "he who runs may read," but she also teaches all who are not very stupid how they can transmit their best or worst characteristics to their offspring. When it is remembered that the wildest savages, or even the lower animals do not require much instruction on those points, the question naturally arises, does man become ignorant of the fundamental laws of his own being, in proportion as he progresses in civilization? But let us hear what our author has to say on the subject. Although she is abundantly explicit in the body of the work in discussing all that relates to the production of the little ones, knowing that there are many stupid persons in the world, she explains her explanations in an elaborate Introduction. The first piece of information with which she favors us is, that "Women who bear *so important a part in parentage* should be the most clear-sighted students of Nature *in these things*. They know much more, *from experience in maternity*, than *men can know in paternity*—the *nearest possible relation, before birth, is exclusively theirs*," &c.—P. 12. This, of course, is very instructive; and it will be new to many—that is, there are doubtless a goodly number of persons in every civilized community who are not aware that the experiences and sensations of women are somewhat different from those of men in the interesting circumstances alluded to! Our author proceeds then to show "*the mother's power during the period of gestation.*" *(Ib.)* Why, if the mother only exercises a little care and skill, she can present her lord with a Cæsar, or a Napoleon, a Homer, or a Shakespeare, as easily as with an idiot or a clown; but the whole affair must be managed on phrenological principles. In speaking of those children who are not as they ought to be before their arrival in this world, our author asks the very pertinent and modest question, "*If the mother forsakes them before she gives them birth, what power can restore their lost faculties or deficient energy?*"—(P. 14.) What a valuable suggestion this will be to the young ladies who have just "finished" their education at our fashionable boarding-schools! But the ladies should teach others all they know on those interesting points. "Nature's most trusted agent," says our author, "in her highest designs for the race, every individual of her sex is *under a solemn obligation to every less enlightened one, to bring her to a knowledge of the power with which she is clothed*," &c.—*(Ib.)* When this is neglected it is evident that the thoughtless part of the sex will never have any adequate idea

of "Woman's Rights." There is, however, some consolation left, even for the latter class; if they have not had sufficient experience in the ordinary way, they may study what "pertains to the same phenomena *among the lower animals.*"—*(Ib.)* It is only because all these things are partly or wholly neglected, that we have such a large number of insane in proportion to our population—that is, our women do not, in a fearful number of instances, more than half perform the work of maternity. It may well seem incredible that a lady would give public expression to such ideas, but her words are as follows:

"The last census reports of the United States exhibit respectively in round numbers, twenty-four thousand insane, eighteen thousand idiotic, fourteen thousand deaf and dumb, and eleven thousand blind among us—a fearful army for a nation of less than thirty millions, claiming to be, all things considered, the most enlightened people on the earth. When we reflect that in all probability many thousand imbeciles, barely separated by a scarcely appreciable development from idiots, escaped numeration, we may well begin to inquire for the remedies of this fearful state of things; and call to their posts those whom nature has empowered to prevent such terrible evils. These are the mothers, the women of our nation: what they, in their *creative capacity, have left undone for their offspring*, the idiot-trainer, the criminal judge, or prison discipline, must do in their stead, for these victims of their ignorance or faithlessness."—P. 16.

It seems that the mothers of other nations—of the Hottentots and Ethiopians, for example—exercise their "creative capacity" more fully than ours, and hence it is that they need so few insane asylums compared to us. But we have not yet gone beyond our author's Introduction; the treatise proper, on "The Science of Human Development," (for "Husband and Wife" are mere catch terms,) opens with an elaborate puff of "The Parent's Guide," published twenty years ago, and with which every intelligent person is supposed to be acquainted. The lady shows us by a long extract, that even a score years ago she knew how to lecture the pretended lords of creation on the science of "perpetuating their own species," p. 18. The passage quoted concludes with the following words:

"The time is fast approaching when men will have to pay more attention to this subject; for a knowledge of phrenology, the science which tests such matters, is rapidly spreading; consequently the parent cannot hope much longer to receive the sympathy of society for the perverse conduct of his child—on the contrary, the child will be commiserated for having inherited active animal propensities, accompanied by deficient moral and reflective organs."

Had we given no extract but this, it would have sufficiently indicated the school of philosophers and *moralists* to which our author belongs. It matters little what page we turn to, we are pretty sure to find a *modest* suggestion or two; such for example, as the following:

"There are those who believe that the mother's power over the character of her offspring is almost omnipotent; hence they pay little attention to the father, and even assume that though he should be an invalid, an imbecile, or a debauchee, yet the mother can *make* hers a model child, physically, mentally, and morally. We would not underrate her power in any of these respects; *it is almost limitless.*"—P. 21.

A little further on, we are told that "Both parents unite *in creating the embryo;* it is the reproduction of neither; but *if all conditions*

are favorable, it should be an improvement on both," (pp. 22–3.) A still more important piece of information, and at the same time more modest, if possible, is the following: "He who has lived most *in accordance with his whole complex nature—developing all his powers* in the highest harmony, is best fitted to bequeath a like harmonious organism to his offspring. But as there are two parents who bring this new life, these two must *assimilate and blend into one*, if they would *make* it a pre-eminently more exalted being than themselves," &c., (p. 24.) Not content with entering *in medias res* in this fashion, our author collects what is most indelicate in the writings of male authors, although it would be difficult to find anything more so than are her own suggestions in numerous instances; but we are very willing to believe that she does not mean to be vicious, but on the contrary, is disposed to do good. What the lady would have us learn from the following remark of Darwin, which she quotes, we do not pretend to understand: "I think," says Darwin, "there can be little doubt that use in our domestic animals strengthens and enlarges certain parts, and that disuse diminishes them, and that such modifications are inherited." —P. 163.

When our author thinks she has fully illustrated the "Science of Human Development," vulgarly called the science of getting babies, she proceeds to suggest how we can have as few children as we wish, if it does not suit our circumstances to have large families. To prove that this is right and proper, as well as feasible, she quotes several foreign authors, who have inculcated similar views; but she says nothing of the results of such suggestions as illustrated by the fearful extent to which infanticide prevails among the countrywomen of the authors alluded to. In accordance with the same doctrine, we are told that "there can be no true marriage except between those who are essentially equals."—(P. 84.) That is, if those who are married discover that they are not "essentially equal," they have a perfect right to seek "other affinities." As for female delicacy, it is but a vulgar superstition, according to our author; for "all truth which is good for man is good also for woman," &c., (p. 84;) which seems to confirm the opinion of Aristotle, that woman is but an *imperfect man*; although, according to the "science" of the work under consideration, she is not only equally perfect with man, but vastly his superior, especially in her "creative capacity!"

We have devoted far more space and time to the book than it is worth; but we have given our reasons for doing so. None but the most weak-minded will be influenced by such a book. If it had as many more appendices (and it has no fewer than *ten*) it could not be regarded as a respectable performance, or one that ought to be read by respectable women. There is nothing truly great or ennobling which the author would not render subservient to the indulgence of

those passions which we possess in common with the brute. Even education, except *before birth*, often, if not always, does more harm than good. "Healthy men," says our author, "with *great muscular powers* and hardy good sense, but illiterate and undisciplined in mind, have been *better workers in the world than our sickly scholars.*"—(P. 180.) This is very appropriately followed by a puff of the "Movement Cure," and kindred "discoveries" and "sciences." In the appendices we have a little of everything, from the tobacco question down to the present war, and the attitude of England relative thereto; and all the author's favorites are quoted and praised as the salt of the earth.

Women who unsex themselves in this way, regard themselves as "strong-minded;" but the truth is, that they are weak-minded. They imagine that they recommend themselves to men by casting aside delicacy, and not only "o'erstepping the modesty of nature," but outraging it. A greater mistake they could not make. Even the libertine, if a person of any culture or refinement, is repelled rather than attracted by want of modesty in woman. In other words, woman disgusts rather than pleases, let her charms be what they may, when she indulges in language or gestures that are inconsistent with modesty. We make no such charge, however, against the author of this book. We are only sorry that she did not turn her attention to some more reputable and useful business than that of compiling a book which no publisher who had much regard for his reputation would set his imprint upon.

The Works of Francis Bacon, Baron of Verulam, &c., &c. Collected and edited by JAMES SPEDDING, M. A., ROBERT LESLIE ELLIS, M.A., and DOUGLAS BENTON HEATH, Barrister-at-Law, &c. Vols. V., VI., and VII. Boston: Taggard & Thompson. 1863.

Few, if any, of the readers of this journal need any testimony as to the instructive, interesting and valuable character of Bacon's writings. We have had several articles from time to time on the author of the "Novum Organum;" but they were not intended to convince any one that his works are of enduring value; for the reason that such a purpose would be superfluous. What we meant to do, was to show the wonderful influence of that one mind on the mode of thought, not only of his own countrymen, but of the whole European race, throughout the world—an influence which is as active to-day as it was two centuries ago. It is always an agreeable task, if task it may be called, to commune with the great thinkers of the past, and examine into the source of their greatness, after the lapse of a period when all the prejudices entertained against them, often only for the noble gifts which elevated them so far above ordinary authors, have passed away with their ashes.

But in examining the works of Bacon and contemplating their results, we learn a lesson which, if we would only remember it, would be more useful to us in dealing with our erring brethren than the most eloquent sermon ever preached. Nothing could teach us to be charitable and indulgent to the faults of others—especially to those of the gifted—more than the study of the life and writings of Bacon; since by them we are convinced that a man may be guilty not only of grievous errors, but of crimes, and still prove a benefactor to his race —a vastly greater benefactor than he who, perhaps conscientiously enough, would be the first to pass judgment upon him, expelling him beyond the pale of civilized society.

The admirers of Bacon should regard it as a privilege to have an opportunity of securing an edition of his works, at once so complete, so elegant, and we may truly add so cheap, as this, which is a *fac-simile* of the best English edition. The three volumes now before us embrace the most interesting of the author's philosophical writings, including his "Valerius Terminus," "Advancement of Learning," "Cogitationes de Natura Rerum," "Partis Instaurationis, Secundæ Delineatio et Argumentum," &c., &c.. An enterprise like this, on the part of the American publishers, should be liberally encouraged by all who take an interest in the development of the human mind, especially at a time when so many who would be sure to become subscribers are off at the war.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY AND TRAVELS.

The Capital of the Tycoon: A Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Japan. By Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary in Japan. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. In Two Vols., 12mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1863.

Seldom have any two volumes of similar character or design afforded us more entertainment than these. It is due to the industry, candor, cosmopolitan spirit, and graphic powers of the author to say, that his work is decidedly the most attractive that has fallen into our hands during the last three months. We have been interested in turning over its pages in the cars and on the steamboat; in town and in country; and it has had a similar attraction for others to such an extent, that we can now speak of it only from memory; for the last obliging friend to whom we lent it has forgotten to return it!

It is not often, in modern times, that a Minister Plenipotentiary has made such good use of a three years' residence at a foreign capital as the author of this work has done. Indeed, he has scarcely overlooked any habit or custom, or any characteristic, social, religious, or political, which it was possible for a foreigner to obtain any infor-

mation upon. The wonder is, how he has been able to collect such a mass of facts. He could not have done so had he not had access to peculiar sources of information. Just when he arrived in Japan, the Japanese government was very well disposed towards England; and it continued its good wishes, at least in appearance, to that country for some two years afterwards. During this period our author evidently made the most of the confidence reposed in him, but, so far as we can see, without abusing it in any manner. • He has not, however, confined himself to the facts obtained from official sources in addition to the results of his own observation; he has consulted the best works written on Japan, by Europeans, including Dutch, French, Germans, &c.; taking care to modify or contradict such statements in each as seemed to be either exaggerated, or altogether unfounded. He does this, however, without mentioning any names.

To the scientific student his observations throughout the work on the botany, ethnology, language, arts, sciences, &c., of Japan will be particularly acceptable; but we would direct attention especially to the Appendix for information in a condensed form, illustrated by statistics, on those various topics; although the copious alphabetical index to the present edition enables the reader to turn at a glanec to whatever class of facts or events he takes most interest in. "The Capital of the Tycoon" has also the advantage of being fully illustrated with well-executed wood-cuts, which are not caricatures, as is too common in similar works, but truthful representations.

On the Historical Antiquity of the People of Egypt: their Vulgar Kalender, and the Epoch of its Introduction. By JOHANNES VON GUMPACH. London: Dulau & Co. 1863.

The student of ethnology, as well as of ancient history, will find much that is interesting in this essay; although it sheds but little additional light on the early history of Egypt. Its object is much more to show how long man has existed on the earth, than to make any very profound researches into the origin of any particular people. Not but the author is well acquainted with the labors of the most eminent Egyptologists. There has been so much excited discussion lately as to the antiquity of man, that M. Von Gumpach has conceived the idea of steering a middle course between the advocates of a very high antiquity and an antiquity comparatively recent. Thus, for example, Bunsen was of opinion that Adam and Eve were created 20,000 years B. C., and that nearly 11,000 years had elapsed after this before the first priest-king of Thebes commenced his reign. According to the author of the essay before us, upon the other hand, that event took place nearly two thousand years later; and the historical King, Menes, must have reigned during the earlier or later Gothic epochs; that is, between 2785 B. C. and 1325 B. C.—a period of nearly 1,500

years. This does not seem very precise as to time. The student of history not in the habit of exploring the remote or traditional past, will be apt to think that it is rather vague history which cannot tell at about what particular period of fifteen centuries and a half a particular king reigned. But is it not much honester to speak vaguely than to affect a definitiveness which does not exist? In other words, is it not better to admit that the question is surrounded with difficulties, if not actually beyond the reach of human intelligence, than to pretend that its solution is as much within the reach of the investigator as a problem in algebra? But whether our author is right or wrong in his figures, none will deny that his reasoning is excellent. His arguments are not only logical and persuasive, but they contain suggestions relative to the early races of mankind which possess a high value altogether independently of the historical facts sought to be established.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Philip Van Artevelde. A Dramatic Romance. In Two Parts. By Henry Taylor. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1863.

Few will read "A Dramatic Romance" without wondering why it is so little known in America; although first published a quarter of a century ago. If any infer without reading it that it must have been almost as little known in England during the same period, the fact will only show either that they have not travelled, or if they have, that their society abroad must not have been of a very intelligent grade. But the English copy of which the volume before us is a transcript, is the sixth edition; a fact which would go far to prove by itself that the work has not only been well received in England, but that it has attained a degree of popularity not often vouchsafed to similar productions of the present day. The author is content to call it a romance; but it is really a fine historical poem; and it is replete with interest. It would afford us great pleasure to give an analysis of the piece; but it has reached us too late to render it possible that we could do more on the present occasion than give a cursory glance at its general character. We may remark, however, that the scene of the romance is laid sometimes at Ghent and sometimes at Bruges, or in its neighborhood, and that the time is towards the close of the fourteenth century. Those acquainted with the history of the Netherlands need not be informed that this is one of its most eventful and exciting epochs. The war of the rival cities of Ghent and Bruges, which lasted for several years, is one of the fiercest on record. The cause of the former city was espoused by the towns of Damme, Ypres, Courtray, Grammont, Peperinguen, and Messines, and that of Bruges by Oudernarde, Dendermonde Lisle, and Tournay.

Abundant materials are thus afforded for an historical drama; and it

must be admitted that they are turned to good account by Mr. Taylor. We must not close even so hurried a notice without extracting a passage or two for the gratification of those who may not have an opportunity of seeing the whole work. Thus Adriana, on seeing her lover approach, asks the opinion of Clara as to what answer she should give him, as she is one of those who have not the wit

> "From such a sharp and waspish word as 'no'
> To pluck the sting."

Clara, upon the other hand, has no such scruples. Arch, mischievous, and full of wit, she is ready to give any advice, or say almost anything, for fun's sake. Accordingly, when Adriana asks her what she should say, she replies:

> "A colorable thing or two; as thus:
> My lord, we women swim not with our hearts,
> Nor yet our judgments, but the world's opinions;
> And though I prize you dearly in my soul,
> And think you of all excellence compounded,
> Yet 't is a serious and unhappy thing
> To hear you spoken of: for men protest
> That you are cruel, cowardly, and cold,
> Boastful, malicious; envious, spiteful, false,
> A bull in ire, an ape in jealousy,
> A wolf in greediness for blood."—(P. 35.)

Adriana asks is she to use no courtesies at all. Clara resumes:

> * * * * * * *
> "'T is said that you are strangely ill to look at;
> Your brow as bleak as winter, with a fringe
> Of withered grass for hair, your nose oblique,
> Pointing and slanting like a dial's hand.
> They say the fish you had your eyes of laughed
> To see how they were set, and that your mouth
> Grows daily wider, bandying of big words."—(P. 36.)

The dialogue between Clara and the Page, in the second scene of the first act, is an excellent specimen of playful humor, but it is too long for our present space. Of a different character is the dialogue between Artevelde and Father John, in scene the fifth of the same act. The strange preference shown by the ladies for those engaged in the work of slaughter is thus happily hit off:

> ARTEVELDE.
>
> "Now, Father, mark you that; hearts soft as wax
> These damsels would be thought to bear about,
> Yet ever is the bloodiest knight the best!
>
> FATHER JOHN.
>
> It is most true. Full many a dame I' ve known
> Who 'd faint and sicken at the sight of blood,
> And shriek and wring her hands and rend her hair
> To see her lord brought wounded to the door;
> And many a one I 've known to pine with dread
> Of such mishap or worse,—lie down in fear,
> The nightmare sole sad partner of her bed,
> Rise up in horror to recount bad dreams
> And seek to witches to interpret them,—
> This oft I' ve known, but never knew I one
> Who 'd be content her lord should live at home
> In love and Christian charity and peace.

ARTEVELDE.

And wherefore so? Because the women's heaven
Is vanity, and that is over all.
What 's firiest still finds favor in their eyes;
What 's noisiest keeps the entrance of their ears.
The noise and blaze of arms enchants them most:
Wit, too, and wisdom, that 's admired of all,
They can admire,—the glory, not the thing."—(Pp. 58, 59.)

But we must close abruptly; not, however, without advising all who derive pleasure from startling incidents, graphically and agreeably related, lifelike portraitures of character and deep and tender pathos, alternating with lively sallies of wit—all tending to make us abhor vice and love virtue for its own sake—to read "Philip Van Artevelde." As to the style in which the book is gotten up, suffice it to say, that it is one of the "blue and gold" series, by which the Messrs. Ticknor & Fields have so much increased a popularity which, as long as we remember, has always been of the highest order.

Sybil Campbell; or, The Queen of the Isle. By Cousin MARY CARLETON. New York: Frederick A. Brady. 1863.

It is not often that we take any notice of "sensation" novels, except to warn the pure and innocent against their vicious and demoralizing tendency. Nor would we have taken up this, had our attention not been called to it by a lady friend in whose taste and judgment we have confidence, and who assured us that the story is really as moral in tone as it is exciting in incident. No assurance would have been necessary to induce us to examine it, since such would be our duty had it come to us without any name, or with a name in which we had any confidence; but finding T. B. Peterson & Brothers on it in large black letters, we confess that we thought we had to do with some nasty abortion or other, of three or four years ago, now exhumed, rechristened, and represented as an entirely new work, and the best published for at least a quarter of a century.

Under this impression, we were looking about for the other drugs which Mr. Peterson generally announces with his sensation books—such, for instance, as that unfortunate "Balm of a Thousand Flowers," which is said to have deprived so many innocent, well-meaning people of their hair, as his books deprived them of their taste, if not of their virtue. But here we found that the publisher is not Mr. T. B. Peterson, but Mr. F. A. Brady; the latter is the agent of the former, and hence the mistake, for which we beg pardon of all concerned; especially of Mr. Brady, whom, it is but fair to say, we have never known either to exhume or rechristen a bad book, or to do anything else of a similar character. To this we need only add, that we cheerfully admit that our lady friend was right—that "Sybil Campbell," although not exactly the species of literature we admire, is an interesting story, the portraitures of which are in the main well

drawn and but slightly exaggerated; and which, if it does not do much good, can hardly do any harm. In short, it is one that we would recommend were we to recommend anything of the kind.

Helemar; or, The Fall of Montezuma: A Tragedy, in Five Acts. By Estelle Anna Lewis, [Stella.] 1863.

We always take up a tragedy with some misgiving, while we admire the courage of the writer who dares to tread in the highest walk of poetic art. But this time, we confess, we have been agreeably disappointed. The author of *Records of the Heart* has produced one that has the ring of the true metal. "Helemar" possesses, in a high degree, two qualities essential to the success of a drama—poetry and spectaculum. Voltaire says that two lines of true poetry will do more for the success of a play than the greatest scenic effect that can be produced. This, however, is not strictly true. Many plays, which have failed on the stage for want of dramatic movement, are full of the highest flights of the muse. Both have their charm, and both must combine to produce a work of high art. They do so very happily in "Helemar."

The scene of this tragedy is laid in the city of Mexico, at the time of the conquest by Cortez. It commences with the entry of the Spaniards into the heathen capital, and concludes with the *Noche Triste*, or melancholy night, the title given by the Spaniards to that memorable and bloody night, when, overwhelmed by the foe, they attempted to make their exit from the city. Truth and fiction are skilfully blended in the poem, and supernatural machinery made to lend its happiest aids. The hero and heroine are chiefly drawn from the world of imagination. About twenty-three years before the conquest by Cortez, a sister of Montezuma and her family suddenly disappeared, and were heard of no more. This is made the basis of the plot. The husband, by order of Montezuma, is put to death, and the wife, with a male infant in her arms, thrown into the lake one stormy night. Guided by the light of the Gipsies' fire, on the borders of the lake, she succeeds in swimming to shore, and in making her way to their camp. She tells them her story while the thunder pauses to listen. Moved by compassion, they devise a plan by which her babe may be brought up, as a foundling, in the palace of Montezuma. They write on its brow *Helemar*, which means in their language "*take me in*," put it in a basket of flowers, and bear it to the palace. The mother assumes the name of Crone and the disguise of an old crazy witch and fortune-teller, by which means she wins the ear and tolerance of her superstitious brother, and thus is enabled to watch over her babe unsuspected.

The boy grows to manhood without the slightest knowledge of his

parentage, or who this old crazy fortune-teller may be, who is ever at his heels. In talent and moral elevation, he is far above his fellows. The witch, in her crazy way, has taught him the laws of Anahuac and the science of government. He is handsome, proud, cynical, envied. The light of a higher religion is dawning on his mental vision, and he goes to a mountain cave to indulge the dream, where he meets Lucifer, who advises him to usurp the crown of Montezuma. The witch, stimulated by revenge, is determined that her son shall wear the crown of her brother. The conquest aids her desire, and saves the killing of the king.

The Spaniards enter Mexico by the consent of Montezuma. He becomes, apparently, their willing prisoner. The throne is without a monarch—the kingdom without a head. The Aztecs, infuriated, elect Helemar their king, crown him, and march with him at their head upon the Spanish garrison. The character of Montezuma, the Indian king, is well portrayed. He stands before the mental eye wrapped in the misty mantle of superstition, pale, pensive, and despairing; hideous spirits croaking his doom in his ears, unpropitious omens floating before his startled vision. In Act I., Scene II., he says to his kinsman, the wise King of Tezcuco:

"Alas! I am forsaken of the gods!
And on the why the oracles are silent!
But yester, walking in the park, I heard
Noises that all the blood within me stirred,
And, lifting up mine eyes, beheld pale men,
In mystic armor, marching up the glen—
Transfixed and stark—congealed to ice my blood—
My hair erect upon my head, I stood,
Till face to face with me these spectral bands,
Pausing, let loose the lightnings from their hands—
Themselves, transforming into serpents dire,
Around me flung their panting folds of fire."

All new tidings of the strangers, every message sent by Cortez, only served to render him more superstitious and incompetent to protect his people against the invading foe. The gods are wroth, the oracles are silent, the hand of Destiny is on him. All resistance to her decrees is in vain. Like a helmless ship, he drifts at the mercy of the storm and the wave.

The counsels of the wise King of Tezcuco, in the same scene, are very forcibly given:

"Thou didst enact good laws—annul the bad ones—
Didst punish Vice—and Virtue didst reward—
Administer to hearts and souls diseased
Till the great mountain-winds caught up thy name,
And bore it to the sun where dwell thy sires.
Thou couldst not bear this great prosperity—
The voice of adulation turned thy head."

Few see themselves as well as others see them. The old soothsayer sums up the weaknesses of his royal master with great truthfulness, in the following lines:

"'Tis Destiny who rules, not Montezuma—
The sceptre's in the hands of Destiny—
The kingdom's in the hands of Destiny—
Destiny is the king, not Montezuma.
Dreams are his ministers—omens his guards."

In Act IV., Scene III., the language of Helemar, when led by Satan to the temple where six hundred noble Aztecs lie slain, rises to the highest dramatic energy. There is nothing in any modern drama which we can call to mind that surpasses it in depth of feeling and power of expression. It is the first of May, the fête-day of the war-god. The Aztecs apply to Alvarado for permission to celebrate it in the temple of the god. He grants the request on the ground that they will leave their arms at home. They consent, and on the day of the fête, six hundred, in their gala costumes and jewels, repair to the temple. While engaged in song and dance, the Spaniards, with Alvarado at their head, rush upon them, and kill every man. Helemar thus exclaims when the bloody scene breaks upon his view:

"Horror of horrors! O grim-visaged Horror!
That rising on my senses strik'st me dumb,
And leav'st me stagg'ring on the brink of Death!
O Reason, keep thy throne! Judgment, thy seat!
O most untimely harvest! Glorious sheaves,
Unripely gathered to Death's Granary!—
Burst—burst, big Heart—and let my great grief flow!
What instigated this foul, bloody murder?
This deed so red it scents the world with gore,
And sets all cannibals in earth a howling!
My Brothers—Anahuac's young Oaks—
The very nerves and sinews of the State,
Untimely felled—hewn down before their heads
Had glittered in the glory of the sun.
Ope, Earth! Gape, Hell! and swallow up the white man!
Are ye all dead, my Brothers—all so mute
Ye cannot tell me wherefore ye were slain?
Is there no lingering pulse—no throbbing heart—
No mouth wherein is breath enough for speech?
Awake! arise! to thirsty vengeance give
This thrice ten thousand hydra-headed fiend!"

We had marked several other passages, but want of space precludes us from inserting any more. To sum up in brief, the tragedy of "Helemar" is written with great power. The dramatic movement is good—the characters naturally and distinctly drawn—evincing throughout a thorough knowledge of the Thespian art. The unities are not strictly observed—nor could any historical drama, of high merit, be brought within their scope. No single scene in history holds within itself sufficient power and completeness to insure it a place on the stage. In subject, "Helemar" is according to the Greek rule. The scene, with one exception, lies in the city of Mexico. This exception, however, breaks the law of the unities. The time, instead of occupying three hours, extends over about one year.

"Helemar" will add much to the author's reputation, and prove an honor to the female literature of America. In subject and treatment it is similar to the *Alzire* of Voltaire, the *Cid* of Corneille, and the *Cromwell* of Victor Hugo; and is by no means unworthy of comparison with those great historical dramas.

The Jobsiad. A Grotesco-Comico-Heroic Poem, from the German of Dr. Carl Arnold Kortum. By CHARLES T. BROOKS, translator of "Faust," "Titan," &c., &c. 16mo, pp. 181. Philadelphia: Frederick Leypoldt. 1863.

It seems almost unaccountable that a work which had an effect in Germany somewhat similar to that produced in England by "Tom Jones," or rather by "Gulliver's Travels," (although it cannot be said to resemble either of those famous performances,) should have remained nearly a century without being translated into English, for it was first published in 1784. But the intelligent student of German literature can easily account for the delay. It has certainly not been caused by any want of appreciation of the work on the part of those capable of reading it in the original.

Even Carlyle, who has but little taste for the grotesque and ludicrous, would have translated the work a quarter of a century ago; but, familiar as he was with the German language, he despaired of being able to do justice to the peculiar idiomatic doggerel of Kortum. Coleridge, too, had serious thoughts about translating the same work; but was deterred from it by the same difficulties. According to Southey, he actually translated the first chapter before he had commenced his version of Schiller's "Wallenstein;" but was so much dissatisfied with his want of success, that he threw the manuscript into the fire.

This sufficiently accounts for the late day at which the "Jobsiad" makes its appearance in an English dress; and it will also remind the critic, that if there are defects in the version of Mr. Brooks, they should be treated with indulgence. While it cannot be said that he has done justice to the original, it is certainly true that he has transfused as much of the spirit of the author into the strange performance now before us, as the most sanguine could expect in view of the facts stated in regard to previous attempts on the part of eminent authors.

The volume is got up in tasteful style by the American publisher. It is illustrated in a manner quite in keeping with the quaint, humorous and whimsical character of the poem. No extract that we could make room for, would give any adequate idea of the work as a whole. In short, the "Jobsiad" must be read in its integrity, in order to be appreciated. Even the titles of a few of the chapters would almost afford sufficient evidence of this—such, for example, as the following: "Of the parents of our hero, and how he was born, and of a remarkable dream which his mother had; How the boy Hieronimus went to the Latin school, and how he did not learn much there; How Hieronimus took the post-wagon, and how he found therein a fair one with whom he fell in love, and who stole his watch; How Hieronimus now began to be clerical, and how he got a black dress and a peruke,

and how he preached for the first time in the pulpit, &c.; How Hieronimus entered into the service of a pious lady, who was a spiritual sister, and how he ran away from her," &c., &c. Several of these titles will remind the reader of the Martinus Scriblerus of Pope and Swift; and a similar thought will often recur during the perusal of the "Nobsiad." In short, the work is one of the best of its kind in any language; it is certainly one of the most amusing performances to be found in the whole range of German literature; and it is surpassed in English literature only by Butler's "Hudibras."

The Ebony Idol. New York: D. APPLETON & Co.

We find no name on the title-page of this volume; nor has it any preface; nothing to indicate who the author is. But we would have examined it all the more readily for these very reasons had it fallen into our hands in time, for in nine cases out of ten, there is least merit where most fuss is made, and *vice versâ*. A friend, whose judgment we esteem, has called our attention to "The Ebony Idol," assuring us that we should find it worthy of perusal; and now that we have read it, we cheerfully admit that while our admiration of it is not quite so enthusiastic as his, we regard it as a work of considerable power.

By this, we mean much more, perhaps, than those who use stronger terms, for we wish to eschew language which has even the appearance of exaggeration. We might go on to say that the book is "intensely interesting," that it will "create a sensation," or "a new era in literature," in the approved fashion of the day; and in doing so, we should perhaps be nearer the truth than those who make most frequent use of those stereotyped phrases. At all events, we prefer to say in sober, earnest language, that the book before us combines a lively, well-sustained interest, with an excellent moral purpose—a purpose, too, which is well carried out. The inference from the title would be, that the book is one of the numerous brood which "Uncle Tom's Cabin" may be said to have engendered. Had such been the case, we would not have been the less willing to do its author justice; for we are no more anti-abolitionists than we are abolitionists. We have no wish to see any people in bondage; we would rather say with Sterne, "Disguise it as thou wilt, still, slavery, thou art a bitter draught." But nothing that we could say, nor all the books that could be written, could prevent the strong from oppressing the weak. Such was always the case, and always will be.

The author of this work appreciates the fact, and casts well-merited ridicule on the pretended philosophers, male and female, who, not content with seeking to lessen the Negro's chains, do much to defeat their own avowed object, by proclaiming, in the plenitude of their

fanaticism, that he is not only equal, but superior to the White. The author proves to the satisfaction of all intelligent persons not blinded by prejudice, that those who pursue this course do the poor negroes vastly more harm than good, since they not only induce them to be careless of whatever position they hold, under the impression that their friends will take care of them, but also expose them to the violent resentment of that class of whites who feel themselves degraded by having to compete with them. Mr. Cary, the abolition parson, in "The Ebony Idol," half-hypocrite, half-fanatic and knave as he is, can hardly be said to be a caricature. We fear there are many persons in flesh and blood of whom he is but too true a type; and there are several other characters, male and female, in the same book, whose prototypes are easily found in real life.

The Triumphs of Duty; or, the Merchant Prince and his Heir. A Tale for the World. By the author of "Geraldine," "A Tale of Conscience," &c. Boston: Patrick Donahoe. 1863.

There is nothing particularly striking or brilliant in this story; but it is far above the average of novels of the present day in interest as well as literary merit. It is designed principally for Catholics; although the author has evidently had an eye to such Protestants as have begun to ask themselves whether, after all, they might not be on as direct a road to heaven in the Catholic as in the Protestant Church; and we think such had better not read it if they are not prepared to exchange their old pastors and pews. From the fact that our friend Donahoe is so well disposed to patronize the ladies, and from certain other internal evidence of an agreeable character, we should have come to the conclusion that "The Triumphs of Duty" is the production of a lady, had we not met with a few such remarks as the following: "I was born unexpectedly, to the great joy of my parents, when they were advanced in life; *other children followed me, but did not survive their birth.*"—(P. 12.) We may be mistaken, however, and so we leave the reader to judge for himself by examining the book.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Insurance Reports and Papers for last Quarter. September, 1863.

There are much greater fluctuations in the insurance business than the most intelligent would be willing to believe. In order to understand this, it is necessary to bear in mind that the underwriters who cheat the public most, give regular salaries to persons whose sole business it is, so far as they are concerned, to exaggerate their capital, assets, &c., and to abuse all who attempt to expose their charlatanism. Vituperation enough, of the most scurrilous kind, has been heaped upon us for attempting to warn the public against being swindled

by these means; but it has not had the least effect in deterring us from what we regard as our incumbent duty, as public journalists and critics; nor will it in the future. We do not, indeed, pretend to be infallible; but we trust we will make no charge against any one which we do not honestly believe, on having carefully examined the facts, to be well founded; and should we fall into error at any time, so as to do injustice to any party, our pages would be open to him to fully vindicate himself, the only condition being that he do so in the language of decency and moderation.

We presume it is needless for us to repeat again that we do not regard all Insurance Companies as cheats, or that we are not opposed to the principle of insurance. We entertain no such idea. On the contrary, none have more confidence than we in legitimate underwriting; but we sincerely believe that two-thirds of the Insurance Companies, home and foreign, doing business in New York, deliberately swindle the public on as large a scale as they can. Nor do we allege that they are all new companies whose standard of morality is thus low; for this would be a glaring, as well as a gross injustice to at least three or four companies that are comparatively new, but vastly more honest and reliable than an equal number we could mention that are old enough, so to speak, to be their grandfathers. In illustration of this fact, we may give an instance or two: Thus, the Washington Insurance Company of this city, (not the Washington Life,) which dates only since 1851, has done as much business, in proportion to its capital, ($400,000,) and been as prompt and cheerful in the payment of its liabilities, as the oldest company in New York. It has been distinguished for the same characteristics since its origin, and it is pleasant to observe that it has not been the less prosperous on this account, but the contrary, as may be seen from the following figures. Its original capital was only $200,000. During the first eight years it paid $288,000 in dividends, and yet its capital had doubled in 1860—that is, it had increased to $400,000. In short, a company that has made two dividends of 60 per cent. to its policy-holders in so brief a period, and whose gross premiums for the year ending January 31, 1868, amounted to $204,198, of which $84,129 remained unexpired at the close of the year, cannot be regarded otherwise than in a flourishing and useful condition. Similar remarks, but slightly modified, will apply to the Hope Fire Insurance Company of New York, which is still younger than the Washington, having been first organized in 1856, but whose President, Mr. Jacob Reese, possesses the ability, energy, and experience to outstrip the oldest. There is yet another company—the Columbian Marine Insurance—younger than either, whose success, resulting from the persevering exercise of similar qualities, has scarcely a parallel. In illustration of this, suffice it to say, that it has doubled its cash capital since January last, so that it now amounts to $1,000,000—the total assets amounting June 2,

1863, to $2,008,651.08, minus losses adjusted and paid. No wonder that the directors have promoted its Secretary to the rank of Vice-President: if they could promote the President to a higher position than he already occupies, it would be their duty, as we are sure it would be their disposition to do so.

But there are other new companies too much like new wine, with the exception that the latter has an agreeable flavor even the first day, and improves according as it grows old. This cannot be said, we fear, of the New Amsterdam Fire Insurance Company, which commenced its existence in 1853, and which, it is thought, it would be as well for the public had it never existed at all. Be this as it may, it seems that on the 31st of December last its capital was confessedly impaired in the ratio of 1.25 per cent. Some account for this by saying that the Directors are very good men and mean well, but that the President is dyspeptic to such an extent that, although his name is *Manners*, he is rather unmannerly to his customers. But a similar explanation will not do in the case, for instance, of the Metropolitan Fire Insurance Company, whose President is a little too polite, if there is any fault to be found on that ground. We will not say that if Mr. Lorimer Graham made fewer fine speeches than he does, that the business interests of the Company would be the better for it. At all events, the Company's capital is marked by the State Superintendent of Insurance as "impaired" to the extent of 2.03 per cent.

The ostensible objects of the Metropolitan are, we believe, the same as those of the Mercantile Mutual Insurance Company, established in 1842; but we know no company more prosperous than the latter; no one whose policy we should rather hold in the event of our house or ship being destroyed. But Mr. Ellwood Walter is neither dyspeptic nor garrulous, but a shrewd, thoughtful business man; who, however, does not possess the less genuine politeness for being even scrupulously attentive to the interests of those whom he represents.

There is still a large amount of Barnumism in New York Life Insurance. We confess that to us the "Circulars to Policy Holders," published in the country papers and signed "F. S. Winston, President," seem veritable curiosities, and deserve to be preserved in our Museum as such. The miracles to which they so persistently allude may be genuine; but we confess that we entertain some doubts on the subject. The Manhattan Life has been rather unfortunate lately. We are informed that the $2,500 for which it has been sued, and which it has had to pay, the jury having found a verdict in favor of the plaintiff, has done it considerable injury; although we cannot say whether it is by diminishing its available funds, or by the effect of the trial on its reputation. We hope that in either case it will be able to recuperate in a short time; but only on the condition that in future it will avoid as much as possible involving its policy-holders in expen-

ative law-suits. In all general criticisms which we make on Life Companies, we mean to except the New York Life Insurance Company, because we have good reason to believe that it honestly deserves the distinction. Its assets amount now to nearly $3,000,000; and we have never known it to dispute a legitimate claim, but to pay the money when it becomes due not only promptly, but cheerfully. It is but fair to say, that we always mean to make a similar exception in the case of the New England Mutual Life Insurance Company. Indeed, the name of Judge Phillips, its President, would be a sufficient guarantee for reliableness and integrity to all who know him; and he is well represented in this city by Mr. Hopper, whose greatest fault, we believe, is his being perhaps a little overzealous in forwarding the interests of the Company.

The American Publisher's Circular and Literary Gazette. Philadelphia: George W. Childs.

We have carefully examined several numbers of this semi-monthly periodical, and we do not hesitate to say that it is the best publication of its kind we have ever seen, either in Europe or America. By this, we do not mean to compare it to works which are not the organs of any fraternity or profession; although we cheerfully admit that there are many such to which it is superior in the ability with which it is conducted, and the multifarious variety and interest of the topics which it treats. We are under no compliment whatever to the present publisher of the "Publisher's Circular;" but we trust we are not the less willing to do him justice on this account; and we could not do so without bearing testimony to the manliness and enterprising spirit of which every number of his periodical contains more or less unmistakable evidence.

Although the work is confessedly the organ of the book-publishers, Mr. Childs does not shrink from criticising those of the fraternity whom he thinks deserve it. If he does not inflict chastisement on the delinquents by name, he does so in a manner sufficiently pointed to leave but little doubt of the party alluded to. We ventured ourselves in our last (June) number to make some comments upon the alleged conduct of a certain Philadelphia house, while reviewing one of its publications, in the course of which we quoted the following observation: "The last time I was in Philadelphia, one of the most respectable booksellers in Chestnut Street complained indignantly that, in order to receive as much transient custom as they could, *they sold their books at retail at the same rate they sold them to the trade.*" We had good reason to believe that this was but too true. Then, in the next number of the "Publisher's Circular" which we take up, (that dated July 15,) we find our testimony in the case fully corroborated. From a long and sensible article on the subject we take the following extract:

"We regret *to be obliged to confess* that recent exceptional instances have been brought to our notice in which even the publisher has entered into competition with his own retail buyers, and by underselling, sought to stigmatize them as extortionate in their prices, and to drive them from the market by selling at cheaper rates himself. For instance, he will publish a book at one dollar and a quarter, supply the trade at a discount based upon that price, and then, while his retail buyers are furnishing it to their customers at the regular price, the publisher is caught selling it at his counter for one dollar! In other words, he sells an article based on a price fixed by himself, and then, for his own additional emolument, does his best to render it valueless in the hands of his vendees. *This sinks far below the lowest morals of horse-jockeying.* It is not only duplicity, but a *self-debasement sacrificing manhood to mammon*, and proclaiming that honor has gone out of the infatuated devotee of greed; it is not a fraud varnished over by some specious show of principle, but one which displays at first sight its true color *as a cheat, all meanness.* We can easily imagine a state of facts in which one of these *piratical publishers*, by publicly holding out to the community a particular price as that which he has affixed to a book, and by declaring to a buyer that he himself and others retail at that price, could, when a purchase has been made in reliance upon these representations, *be convicted for obtaining money under false pretences*, on proof of the *falsity of the statements* by which the sale was effected."—P. 227.

We received not fewer than *twenty-nine* copies of the *Circular* containing this article, from nearly as many cities and towns, with the paragraph we have quoted marked, and the name of the firm to which we had alluded written in full on the margin, and connected by a heavy line with the word "publisher." If the party alluded to were really guilty, may we not hope that in future they will not set their heart so much on a matter of five cents, or even ten, in the price of a book, which, if an improvement be not made in that respect also, would be too dear at any price?

Discourse Commemorative of the Services and Character of Rev. John C. Guldin, D. D., late Pastor of the German Evangelical Mission Church, New York. Preached by Appointment of the Classis of New York, on the 29th March, 1863, in the Church on Lafayette Place. By ISAAC FERRIS, D.D., Chancellor of the University of the City of New York.

We regret that the pamphlet containing this excellent oration was mislaid soon after its receipt, by one of several friends to whom we were induced to lend it, so that now, when it is found again, we can do little more than allude to it. For those who know Dr. Ferris, this, indeed, will be sufficient; and we trust there are few of our readers who are not acquainted, at least by reputation, with one who, altogether independently of his writings and discourses, has done so much for the cause of education and literature. As the Chancellor of the University of New York, and the President of the Ferris Female Seminary, his influence has been widely felt.

Nor is that now before us the first discourse of his which it has been our privilege to examine for the benefit of our readers. A similar oration, commemorative of the life and character of the late Dr. George W. Bethune, which we reviewed in our number for September, 1862, availing ourselves of copious extracts,* is one of the most

* See pp. 377–380.

eloquent and most instructive addresses of the kind with which we are acquainted in any modern language. Nor is that under consideration inferior to it in any particular. It has been published by the Board of Publication of the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church, on the joint request of the Consistory of the German Evangelical Mission Church and the Classis of New York; a fact which of itself would be sufficient evidence that it is no ordinary effort.

Nouvelles Etudes, Critiques et Biographiques. Par JEAN LEMOINNE. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères. 1863.

The author of this volume is little known in this country; and there are but few of his countrymen who deserve to be better known. As a contributor to the principal periodicals of Paris, he has exercised considerable influence on public opinion during the last ten years; and his views have always a wholesome tendency, because always liberal and candid. His essay on the Duke of Wellington, in the volume before us, does him great honor; so willing is he to do full justice to the hero of Waterloo that, did he not write in a foreign language, he might readily be taken for an Englishman. Having assured his readers that he has no disposition to depreciate the Duke, he describes him as follows: "He was so honest, so upright, so true, that that which in others would be called skepticism, or apostacy, was in him virtue and disinterestedness," &c.—(P. 138.) What higher praise could his favorite aid-de-camp or secretary have bestowed on him than this? And our author is equally frank and manly in speaking of Waterloo. "To try to hide that *large* wound," he says, "by a deceiving bandage, would be weakness; it would not cover it; it would not conceal either its depth or its glory, *nor would it stop the blood.*"—(P. 125.) Our author's views of Sir Robert Peel are expressed with equal frankness; although his estimate of the statesman is by no means so high as that of the general. M. Lemoinne is, indeed, not always correct in his views of foreign politics; on the contrary, he is often ludicrously wrong. But when we are most inclined to smile at his mode of accounting for certain peculiarities which attracted his attention in England, we are forced to admit that if he does not instruct us, or give us any new thoughts, he at least entertains us. In short, his book is the most attractive of its kind we have examined in a long time.

Fish Culture: A Practical Guide to the Modern System of Breeding and Rearing Fish. By FRANCIS FRANCIS. London: Routledge. 1863.

This is a much more curious and instructive book than the title would imply to the casual reader. It shows how the ova may be impregnated by artificial means; and gives full directions for removing the spawn, nourishing the young fry, &c. Those having ponds are taught how they can people them in the most satisfactory manner, and at least expense. The author's suggestions on the rearing of salmon alone, would be a sufficient recommendation to the book.

Histoire Parlementaire de France. Recueil complète des Discours prononcés dans les Chambres de 1819 à 1848. Par M. GUIZOT. Vols. I. and II. London: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

We can do little more on the present occasion than simply to state the fact, that the veteran statesman and author has added two more volumes to his contributions to the history of modern Europe; for, although the *tomes* before us are devoted mainly to what took place in the French Chambers during the period indicated, like all Guizot's works, they embrace all Europe in their scope—nay, indeed, all parts of the world that can claim a share in European civilization. In his introductory essay, M. Guizot has the characteristic manliness to deny that France has by any means renounced her aspirations for political freedom. At present, he tells us, she is merely biding her time. He does not seem to think, however, that there will be any revolution during the lifetime of Napoleon III.; but he intimates that it would be different were it not that the present emperor, whatever may be his faults, understands the people of France sufficiently to know that absolute sovereign as he is, he could not infringe much on their liberties, without placing his throne in jeopardy. No matter what subject the venerable author of "Civilization in Europe" takes up, he is sure to trace results to their causes, however remote those causes may be. Accordingly, he goes back in the present instance to the first revolution, and shows its connection with, and bearing upon the revolutions of 1830 and 1848. This part of the work will be particularly interesting to the student of history, for it is characterized by that depth of thought, freedom of discussion, and cogency of argument, which have secured at home and abroad, in America as well as in Europe, for the author's previous works the *fiat* of excellence and permanency.

Lost and Saved. By the Hon. MRS. NORTON. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1863.

This work is not likely to make much addition to the fame of the author of "The Sorrows of Rosalie." Not that it is by any means an ordinary production. Indeed, nothing of a vulgar character could have emanated from the pen of Mrs. Norton. Yet, "Lost and Saved," with all its attractions, its graphic descriptions, brilliant dialogues, and striking portraitures of character, scarcely does her justice. One reason for this is, that she undertook it to please her friend, Lord Essex, to whom she dedicates the book, as follows: "I once jested with you, as to your notions of charm and perfection in woman, and told you I would some day create a heroine on that model, and bring her to grief in a novel." It is certainly an agreeable task to examine, as we have done, how well she has succeeded in this. A more charming

portraiture than the heroine Beatrice Brooke is seldom met with in a modern novel; but she has one grave fault; she is too confiding—too ready to sacrifice her virtue, if indeed she can be said to possess sufficient of it for the ordeals which one at once so beautiful in person and so gifted in mind as she, is sure to pass through. At all events, she is inveigled into a false marriage, and then deserted.

Lady Nesdale is altogether a different character. The latter is deceitful and intriguing by choice—it is the habit of her life; but her cunning and wealth enable her to maintain her position in society as if she were faithful and virtuous. Another striking portraiture is that of the Marchioness Updown; but for the present, we must leave the reader to discover the rest for himself.

Recherches sur l'origine de plusieurs souverains d'Europe. Par le Baron De Boehne. London: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

Those who wish to form an opinion of the origin of the divine right of kings, would do well to read this volume. Although the author is a firm believer in the monarchical principle, and thinks that a king or emperor is something more than a mere mortal, he unwittingly discloses some secrets which go far to prove the reverse of his doctrine. Nor would it be difficult to show that one-half of the sovereigns, whose pedigrees he pretends to give, have a much more recent origin as representatives of families than he assigns them. Thus, for instance, he uses an elaborate argument to prove that Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, is descended in a direct line from Kerdic, who arrived in Britain A. D. 494; and that the same blood courses in her veins which prompted the Emperor Charlemagne to such noble deeds. The genealogy of the house of Hapsburgh is traced still further back; whereas, the Bourbons—because their sun seems to have set—receive little attention in any way; and the inference from the comparatively brief passage devoted to them would be—if they were not sufficiently known independently of the Baron's "Recherches"—that they are but upstarts of the last generation. The work teaches one good lesson, however: it shows that in nine cases out of ten, the ruler of the royal or imperial family who was a true upstart, was the greatest of all; in other words, that the "new man" was the best man, since, however mean had been his antecedents, he was the founder of the family dynasty.

SELECT NEW PUBLICATIONS,

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN.

The Social Condition and Education of the People in England. By Joseph Kay, Esq., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge. Barrister-at-Law, and late Travelling Bachelor of the University of Cambridge. 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.

Die Philosophie der Kirchen Väter. Von Dr. Johannes Huber, a. o. Professor der Philosophie an der Universität Munchen. London: Williams & Norgate.

On Liberty. By John Stuart Mill. 12mo, pp. 223. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Cours d'Economie Politique. Par M. G. De Molinari. Seconde Edition. Tome 1. Bruxelles: La Croix et Cie. 1863.

Sisterhoods in the Church of England; with Notices of some Charitable Sisterhoods in the Romish Church. By Margaret Goodman, author of the experiences of an English Sister of Mercy. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1863.

The Bivouac and the Battle-Field; or, Campaign Sketches of Virginia and Maryland. By Captain George F. Noyes. 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.

La Ménagerie Littéraire. Par Poitre Artamov (le Comte de la Fite.) 18mo. Paris: Michel Lévy Frères.

Li Livres don Trésor. Par Brunetto Latini, publié pour la première fois. 4to. Paris: Firmin, Didot & Ce. Collection de documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France.

African Hunting from Natal to the Zambesi, including Lake Ngami, the Kalahari Desert, &c., from 1852 to 1860. By William Charles Baldwin, Esq., F. R. G. S., &c. Illustrated by James Wolf and G. B. Zwecker. 12mo, pp. 397. Maps. New York: Harpers.

L'Angleterre et la Vie Anglaise. Par A. Esquiros. Troisième Série. Paris: Collection Hetzel. London: D. Nutt.

The Every-Day Philosopher in Town or Country. By the Author of the "Recreations of a Country Parson." 12mo, pp. 320. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Les Matinées Mozales, ou l'Art de Megner. Opuscule inédit de Frédéric II. dit le Grand, Roi de Prusse. London: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

Harper's Hand-Book for Travellers in Europe and the East: being a Guide through France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Austria, Italy, Sicily, Egypt, Syria, Turkey, Greece, Switzerland, Tyrol, Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Spain, and Great Britain and Ireland. By W. Pembroke Fetridge. With a Map embracing Colored Routes of Travel in the above Countries, and a new Railroad Map. Revised and Enlarged Edition. Large 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.

China from a Medical Point of View in 1860–61. By C. A. Gordon, M. D., C. B., Deputy Inspector of Hospitals, Army Department. London: J. Churchill. 1863.

Two Friends. By the Author of "The Patience of Hope" and "A Present Heaven." 12mo, pp. v., 167. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Vorträge und Reden Kunsthistorischen Inhalts. Von Ernst Guhl aus seinem Nachlasse. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

A Present Heaven. Addressed to a Friend. By the Author of "The Patience of Hope." 12mo, pp. v., 172. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

La Question Italienne.—No. 1. Réponse à la Lettre de M. de la Guerssonière. Par le Chevalier D. A. E. Wollheim de Fonseca. Leipzig: W. Gerhard. London: Williams & Norgate.

Hooker's Natural Philosophy. Science for the School and Family. Part I. Natural Philosophy. By Worthington Hooker, M.D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine in Yale College, Author of "The Child's Book of Nature," "Natural History," "First Book in Chemistry," &c. Illustrated by nearly 300 Engravings. 12mo. New York: Harpers. 1863.

The Weakness and Inefficiency of the Government of the United States of America. By a late American Statesman. Edited by a Member of the Middle Temple. London: Houlston & Wright. 1863.

Meditations on Death and Eternity. Translated from the German by Frederica Rowan. 8vo, pp. vii., 144. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

Don Carlos et Philippe II. Par Charles de Moüy. London: D. Nutt. 1863.

Ulrich von Hutten, Imperial Poet and Orator, &c. Translated from Chauffour-Kestner's Etudes sur les Réformateurs du 16me Siècle. By Archibald Young, Esq., Advocate. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1863.

Memorable Battles of English History, &c. By W. H. Davenport Adams. London: Griffith & Farran. 1863.

The Institutes of Medicine. By Martyn Paine, A. M., M. D., LL.D. Seventh Edition. 8vo, pp. xvi., 1130. Portrait. N.Y.: Harpers.

Bacon's Essays and Colors of Good and Evil. By W. Aldis Wright, M.A. Cambridge and London: Macmillan. 1863.

Chronicles of Carlingford. A Novel. By the Author of "Margaret Maitland," &c., &c. 8vo, pp. 306. New York: Harpers.

Remains, in Verse and Prose, of Arthur Henry Hallam. With a Preface and Memoir. London: John Murray. 1863.

Le Don Quichotte philosophe, ou Histoire de l'avocat Hablard. Par M. Dionloufet. 4 vols., 12mo. Paris: Pélagaud & Co.

Familiar Dialogues in Japanese, with English and French Translations, for the use of Students. 8vo. London: Trübner & Co.

Political, Social, and Literary History of France to 1863. Cr. 8vo. London: Jarrold.

Kilsorral Castle, an Irish Story. 2 vols., post, 8vo. London: Chapman & Hall.

History of the Egyptian Revolution, from the Period of the Mamelukes to the Death of Mohammed Ali; from the Arab and European Memoirs, Oral Tradition, and Local Research. 2 vols., 8vo. London: Trübner & Co.

English Botany; or, Colored Figures of British Plants. Edited by John T. Boswell Syme, F.L.S. Vol. I. Ranunculaceæ to Cruciferæ. Royal 8vo. With 161 Colored Plates. Hardwicke.

Sulpiz Boigserée. In Two Vols. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

Die Geschichte der Volkerwanderung von der Gothenbe-Kehrung bis zum Tode Alarich's nach den Luellen dargestellt. Von Dr. Reinhold Passman, &c. London: Williams & Norgate. 1863.

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